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The Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques: Royal Apotheosis in a Most Concise Book of the Underworld and Sky

Roberson, Joshua Aaron

Abstract: Among the many scenes and texts that occur for the first time in the Nineteenth Dynasty cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos is a representation of the awakening of Osiris by Horus, which appears directly beneath a vignette depicting the transit of the solar barques. The annotations to this bi-partite tableau appear in a mixture of standard, hieroglyphic Egyptian and cryptographic scripts. Similar groups of scenes and texts occur in the Twentieth Dynasty royal tombs of Ramesses VI (KV9) and Ramesses IX (KV6), the Twenty-Second Dynasty tomb of Sheshonq III at Tanis (NRT5), and the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty private tomb of Mutirdis at Thebes (TT410). In addition, significant, albeit partial parallels occur on the re-carved, Twenty-Second Dynasty sarcophagus of Psusennes and a Ptolemaic sarcophagus inscribed for a certain Khaf. This study offers a summary of the scenes' iconography together with the first synoptic edition of the relevant annotations, taking into account all currently published exemplars. Many of the cryptographic texts are translated here for the first time, while others receive updated translations and expanded analyses. The author also considers the meaning and context of the paired scenes in royal and private monuments, in order to demonstrate the status of the bi-partite tableau as a unified composition. This composition is identified as a concise representative of the cosmological genre referred to usually as the Books of the Underworld and Sky.

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Roberson The Awakening of Osiris

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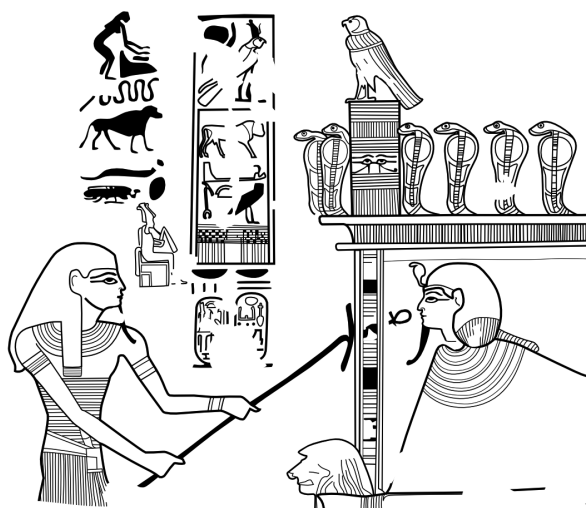
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Joshua Aaron Roberson

The Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques

Royal Apotheosis in a Most Concise
Book of the Underworld and Sky



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CONTENTS

Preface	IX
Abbreviations	XI
Introduction	1
A brief note on the cryptographic script.....	3
CHAPTER 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE SCENES.....	9
CHAPTER 2. ANNOTATIONS TO THE LOWER REGISTER: THE AWAKENING OF OSIRIS	18
§2.1 West side, small deities	19
Text A1/1–5: First row west, first to fifth figures.....	20
Text A2/1–5: Second row west, first to fifth figures	25
Text A3/1–5: Third row west, first to fifth figures	30
Text A4/1–5: Fourth row west, first to fifth figures	34
§2.2 East side, small deities.....	39
Text A5/1–4: First row east, first to fourth figures.....	39
Text A6/1–4: Second row east, first to fourth figures	44
Text A7/1–4: Third row east, first to fourth figures	48
Text A8/1–4: Fourth row east, first to fourth figures.....	51
§2.3 The standing figure of Horus.....	56
Text A9: Above Horus	56
Text A10: Between Horus and the Shrine of Osiris (Sety I only)	61
§2.4 Guardian uraei atop the shrine of Osiris	62
Text A11: Above the western uraei.....	62
Text A12: Above the eastern uraei	62
Text A13: Above the central group of uraei	63
§2.5 The awakened Osiris	64
Text A14: Behind the shrine of Osiris (Ramesses VI only)	64
Text A15: Speech of Osiris, above the god’s shrine.....	64
CHAPTER 3. ANNOTATIONS TO THE UPPER REGISTER: THE TRANSIT OF THE SOLAR BARQUES	76
§3.1 The winged sun disc	76
Text T1: Beneath the west wing	77
Text T2: Beneath the east wing	77
§3.2 Western horizon and gods of the southern sky	78
Text T3: In front of the “west” emblem, above the first (uppermost) row of small deities.....	78
Text T4: Southern sky, uppermost row	79

Text T5: Southern sky, second row (from top).....	80
Text T6: Southern sky, third row (from top)	81
Text T7: Southern sky, lowermost row	82
§3.3 Eastern horizon and gods of the northern sky.....	83
Text T8: In front of the “east” emblem, above the first (uppermost) row of small deities.....	83
Text T9: Northern sky, uppermost row	84
Text T10: Northern sky, second row (from top).....	84
Text T11: Northern sky, third row (from top)	85
Text T12: Northern sky, lowermost row	86
§3.4 West side, figures in the evening barque	88
Text T13: Evening barque, stern. Atum	89
Text T14: Speech of Atum (Sety I only)	92
Text T15: Evening barque, center. The deceased	93
Text T16: Speech of the deceased to Atum	97
§3.5 East side, figures in the morning barque.....	101
Text T17: Morning barque, stern. The sun god	101
Text T18: Morning barque, center. The deceased	105
Text T19: Speech of the deceased to the sun god.....	110
Text T20: Morning barque, prow. Standing goddess (Ramesses VI only).....	111
§3.6 Central axis.....	112
Text T21: Titulary	112
 CHAPTER 4. FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS ON A MOST CONCISE BOOK OF THE UNDERWORLD AND SKY	 118
§4.1 The status of the bi-partite tableau as a unified composition.....	118
§4.2 The original date of composition	122
§4.3 Function and meaning in the Book of the Awakened Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques	128
4.3.1 The structure of the cosmograph	128
4.3.2 Royal apotheosis in the bi-partite tableau.....	131
4.3.3 Private adaptations to the bi-partite tableau in the tomb of Mutirdis	136
 Appendix: Register of cryptic values in the AOTSB	 141
Bibliography	150
Egyptian-English index of divine names	158
Index of texts cited	162
General index	168

Plate 1. Awakening and Transit scenes from the cenotaph of Sety I at Abydos (after FRANKFORT et al., <i>Cenotaph</i> , pl. 74, image courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society).....	171
Plate 2. Awakening and Transit scenes from the tomb of Ramesses VI (after PIANKOFF, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , 438, fig. 142; Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations, vol. 1 © 1954 by Bollingen, 1982 renewed PUP reprinted by permission of Princeton University Press). All hieroglyphs drawn by the present author, after <i>ibid.</i> , pls. 184–85	172
Plate 3. Awakening and Transit scenes from the tomb of Ramesses IX (drawing by the present author)	173
Plate 4. Awakening and Transit scenes from the tomb of Sheshonq III (after MONTET, <i>Tombeau de Chéchanq III</i> , pl. 30, image courtesy of the Mission Française des Fouilles des Tanis)	174
Plate 5. Awakening and Transit scenes from the tomb of Mutirdis, Chamber IV, reconstruction (after ASSMANN, <i>Mutirdis</i> , 91, fig. 41, reproduced by permission of the author). Destroyed areas in grey added by the present author, after <i>ibid.</i> , pl. 41	175

PREFACE

The present short book was intended originally as a long article, which nevertheless metastasized quickly beyond those modest parameters. I have attempted to retain the spirit, if not the letter, of that intended brevity by limiting my own discursive interpretations on the composition's "meaning" to the final chapter. The bulk of the study is concerned with the description and comparison of previously disparate sources, the translation of all relevant texts, and the explanation of unconventional orthographies. While never as concise or transparent as I might have liked, I have presented these results in as straightforward and simple a manner as I was able. However, as is often the case in the study of Egyptian cryptography, few words are final. It is my hope that this work will provide an aid to future study of this important exemplar of the New Kingdom cosmological genre, which has been neglected hitherto, due to the relative intransigence of its cryptographic texts.

This volume could not have been completed without the generous support and encouragement of numerous colleagues and friends. I extend my thanks first to Mr. Charles Herzer, who originally brought to my attention the deficit of scholarship concerning the cryptic annotations to the Awakening of Osiris. Mr. Herzer's observation led to my presentation of some of these texts at the sixty-third annual meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt, in Providence, Rhode Island. At that conference, Dr. David Klotz gave insightful comments and encouragement and also furnished me with a copy of an article discussing, among other things, one of the cryptic passages under consideration below, for which I am most grateful. Dr. John Darnell offered encouragement on an early draft. The American Research Center in Egypt, in conjunction with the US Department of State, provided funding and support for a survey of numerous Theban monuments in the summer of 2008, which allowed me to make first-hand observations on the version of the Awakening scene from the tomb of Ramesses IX, as recorded in plate 3 of the present volume. I offer also my heartfelt thanks to Dr. David P. Silverman, curator of the Egyptian section of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, who kindly extended to me the position of consulting scholar at that institution from 2011–13, during the time of my research on this material. I extend my thanks to Prof. Jan Assmann, for kind permission to reproduce his reconstruction of the Awakening of Osiris from the tomb of Mutirdis (pl. 5, present volume); to Prof. Philippe Brissaud and the Mission Française des Fouilles de Tanis, for permission to reproduce Montet's drawing of that scene from the tomb of Sheshonq III (pl. 4, present volume); to Princeton University Press for permission to reproduce Piankoff's drawing from the

tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 2, present volume); and to the Egypt Exploration Society for permission to reproduce Frankfort's drawing from the cenotaph of Sety I at Abydos (pl. 1, present volume). My research assistant, Ms. Rory Onorato, skillfully proofread the manuscript and assisted in cross-checking references, saving me from numerous insidious errors; any omissions or remaining mistakes rest solely with me. I would like also to thank Prof. Dr. Susanne Bickel, Prof. emeritus Othmar Keel, and the editorial board of the *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* series for their interest in this volume and for their assistance in its publication. Additional publication costs were supported by a generous grant from the Michela Schiff Giorgini Foundation. To all of these individuals and institutions, I extend my most sincere thanks and appreciation.

Philadelphia, June 18, 2013

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ASAE</i>	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités d'Égypte</i>
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale au Caire</i>
<i>BiOr</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
<i>CRAIBL</i>	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres</i>
<i>DE</i>	<i>Discussions in Egyptology</i>
<i>GM</i>	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i>
<i>JARCE</i>	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<i>JEOL</i>	<i>Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-egyptisch Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux"</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>LingAeg</i>	<i>Lingua Aegyptia</i>
<i>MÄS</i>	<i>Münchner Ägyptologische Studien</i>
<i>MDAIK</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i>
<i>MFA Bulletin</i>	<i>Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin</i>
<i>MMA Bulletin</i>	<i>The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin</i>
<i>NAWG</i>	<i>Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen</i>
<i>OBO</i>	<i>Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis</i>
<i>OLP</i>	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica</i>
<i>PM</i>	<i>B. PORTER and R. MOSS, Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, 7 vols.</i>
<i>RdÉ</i>	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i>
<i>SAK</i>	<i>Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur</i>
<i>SAOC</i>	<i>Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization</i>
<i>Wb</i>	<i>A. ERMAN and H. GRAPOW (eds.), Wörterbuch der Ägyptische Sprache, 7 vols.</i>
<i>WdO</i>	<i>Die Welt des Orient</i>
<i>ZÄS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>

INTRODUCTION

Among the many scenes and texts that occur for the first time in the Nineteenth Dynasty cenotaph of Sety I at Abydos is a representation of the awakening of Osiris by Horus, which appears directly beneath a vignette depicting the transit of the solar barques (fig. 1; pls. 1–5).¹ The annotations to this bi-partite tableau appear in a mixture of standard, hieroglyphic Egyptian and cryptographic scripts. Similar paired scenes and texts occur in the Twentieth Dynasty royal tombs of Ramesses VI (KV9) and Ramesses IX (KV6),² the Twenty-Second Dynasty tomb of Sheshonq III at Tanis (NRT5),³ and the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty private tomb of Mutirdis at Thebes (TT410), which includes three versions of the bi-partite tableau.⁴

¹ H. FRANKFORT, A. DE BUCK, and B. GUNN, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos* (London, 1933), vol. 1, 68, 1; vol. 2, pl. 74. The scenes occur in the final transverse chamber, which Frankfort identifies as a monumental “sarcophagus” (ibid., vol. 1, 26–27), on the east side of the roof, immediately to the left of the head and arms of the giant sky goddess from the Book of Night and opposite the Book of Nut, on the west half of the ceiling (see ibid., vol. 2, pl. 75; and A. VON LIEVEN, *Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne. Das sogenannte Nutbuch*, vol. 1 (Copenhagen, 2007), 15). For useful summaries of the architectural context of the bi-partite tableau in the Cenotaph and later royal and private tombs, including surrounding compositions, see ibid., 20–24 (“Balsamierungshalle”); and J.F. QUACK, “Frühe ägyptische Vorläufer der Parantellonta?” in *Sudhoffs Archiv* 83 (1999), 214–15. For additional discussion of context and meaning of the tableau, see below, Ch. 4.

² The Ramesses VI scenes appear in isolation on the ceiling of Hall H, for which see A. PIANKOFF, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, Bollingen Series 1 (New York, 1954), 438–41 and pls. 183–85. The Ramesses IX scenes fill the rear wall of the sarcophagus chamber, for which see F. ABITZ, “Bauablauf und Dekoration des Grabes Ramses’ IX,” *SAK* 17 (1990), 31; and F. GUILLMANT, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX* (Cairo, 1907), pl. 93. GUILLMANT’s drawing of the Ramesses IX scene suffers unfortunately from numerous inaccuracies and omissions, particularly in the lower register; these errors have now been corrected, on the basis of observations and photographs taken by the present author in 2008, for which see notes to the individual figures below, Chs. 2–3 and pl. 3.

³ See P. MONTET et al., *Les constructions et le tombeau de Chéchanq III à Tanis* (Paris, 1960), 67–69, and pls. 30, 35, 36 (bottom), 37, and 38 (top); and G. ROULIN, “Les tombes royales de Tanis: analyse du programme décoratif,” in P. Brissaud and C. Zivie-Coche, *Tanis. Travaux récents sur le Tell Sâh el-Hagar* (Paris, 1998), 257–61.

⁴ J. ASSMANN, *Das Grab der Mutirdis*, Grabung im Asasif 6 (Mainz, 1977), 14–15, 74 (§4.1.2.3), 82 (§4.3.2.1), 90–93 (§4.4.2.2), and pls. 28, 34b, and 41. Unfortunately, only the third version (ASSMANN’s “Szene 45,” from the south wall of Chamber IV) has been preserved in sufficient detail to permit detailed comparison with the royal corpus. Plate 5 from the present volume reproduces Assmann’s reconstruction of the relevant scene, with the addition of shaded areas indicating large sections of the wall that have been destroyed, following the photograph in ibid., pl. 41. For additional discussion, see §4.3.3, below.

The present study offers a brief summary of these scenes' iconography (Ch. 1) together with the first synoptic edition of the various annotations (Chs. 2–3), taking into account all currently published exemplars.⁵ Finally, I consider the status of the bi-partite tableau as a unified composition—a concise representative of the cosmological genre referred to usually as the Books of the Underworld and Sky—offering evidence for its original date of composition and discussion of its meaning in royal and private monuments (Ch. 4).

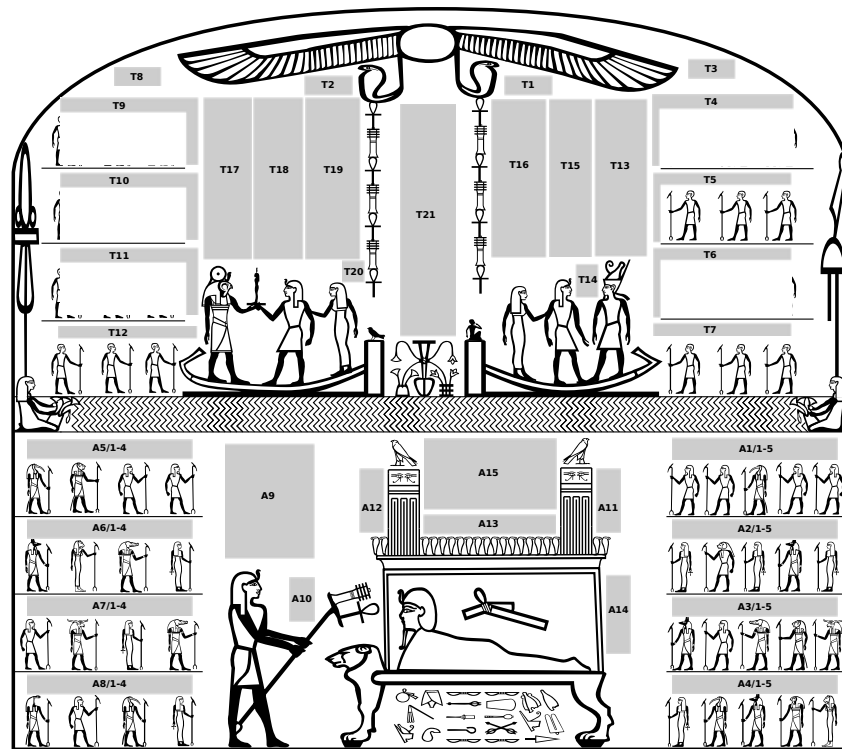


Figure 1: Schematic diagram showing approximate, relative positions of figures and texts from the Awakening of Osiris (texts A1–15) and the Transit of the Solar Barques (texts T1–21).

⁵ Other versions, not included in the present study, include a complete (?) copy from the tomb of Pedamenopet (TT33) (see A. PIANKOFF, “Les grandes compositions religieuses dans la tombe de Pédéménopé,” *BIFAO* 46 (1947), 87); as well as partial parallels, which frequently omit the Transit of the Solar Barques and most or all of the annotations, e.g., the Theban tombs of Ramose (TT132; see *PM* I, 247) and Pabasa, son of Pabasa (TT279; cited in ASSMANN, *Mutirdis*, 90, n. 73), as well as the largely unpublished Nubian tombs of Tanutamun and his mother Qalhalta (see G. REISNER, “The Royal Family of Ethiopia,” *MFA Bulletin*, vol. 19, 112/113 (1921), 27).

A BRIEF NOTE ON THE CRYPTOGRAPHIC SCRIPT

The annotations to all of the major figures, at the center of the bi-partite Awakening and Transit scenes,⁶ employ a non-standard version of the Hieroglyphic script that modern scholars describe usually as “cryptographic.”⁷ The orthographic principles of Egyptian cryptography, the mechanisms of sign substitution, and their relationships to the later Ptolemaic script have long been recognized, based in large part upon the pioneering, albeit frequently agonistic, work of E. DRIOTON and H. FAIRMAN.⁸ As a prominent feature of many Hieroglyphic texts from the so-called Underworld Books and Books of the Sky, Egyptian cryptography has received considerable attention recently from scholars working in those genres.⁹



⁶ Specifically, the large figures of Osiris and Horus in the lower register, plus the sun god and the deceased in the upper register. The relevant texts are discussed below, in Ch. 2, §2.3 (Texts A9–10), §2.5 (Text A15), Ch. 3, §3.4 (Texts T13–16), and §3.5 (Texts T17–19).

⁷ For a brief, general overview, see H.G. FISCHER, “Hieroglyphen,” in W. Helck and W. Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden, 1977), col. 1196, H.

⁸ A useful bibliography of Drioton’s corpus of work in cryptography, based primarily upon texts of the New Kingdom, appears in E. DRIOTON, “Les principes de la cryptographie égyptienne,” *CRAIBL* 97/3 (1953), 356–57. The work of Fairman was concerned above all with the Ptolemaic texts at Edfu, which employ essentially the same substitution methods found in earlier cryptic texts; see H.W. FAIRMAN, “Notes on the Alphabetic Signs Employed in the Hieroglyphic Inscriptions of the Temple of Edfu,” *ASAÉ* 43 (1943), 193–310; idem, “An Introduction to the Study of Ptolemaic Signs and Their Values,” *BIFAO* 43 (1945), 51–138. The main point of contention between these two scholars—acrophony vs. the consonantal principle, respectively—is considered further below.

⁹ Above all, see the comprehensive discussion and bibliography of previous scholarship in J. DARNELL, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar Osirian Unity*, OBO vol. 198 (Göttingen, 2004), 1–34; with additional comments in the review article of L. MORENZ, “Akrophonisches oder konsonantisches Prinzip – eine angemessene Alternative für die Visuelle Poesie?” *DE* 61 (2005), 101–113; and critical response to the latter review in D. KLOTZ, “Once Again, Min (𓆎): Acrophony or Phonetic Change?” *GM* 233 (2012), 22–25. A concise, synthetic overview of cryptographic principles appears in VON LIEVEN, *Grundriss*, vol. 1, 27–34; with additional comments in the review article of D. KLOTZ, “A New Edition of the “Book of Nut,”” *BiOr* 68 (2011), 480–88. A useful discussion of bi-graphic (i.e. glossed) cryptic texts, with annotated sign register, appears in D. WERNING, “Aenigmatische Schreibung in Unterweltsbüchern des Neuen Reiches: gesicherte Entsprechungen und Ersetzungsprinzipien,” in C. Peust (ed.), *Miscellanea in honorem Wolfhart Westendorf*, GM Beihefte 3 (Göttingen, 2008), 124–152. For the application of many of these principles in recent practice, see, e.g., C. MANASSA, “The Judgment Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates,” *RdÉ* 57 (2006), 109–36; J. ROBERSON, “An Enigmatic Wall from the Cenotaph of Sety I at Abydos,” *JARCE* 43 (2007), 93–112; and *ibid.*, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth*, Wilbour Studies

Building upon those foundations, the present brief note is intended merely to orient the unfamiliar reader with regard to the basic principles of cryptic substitution, as employed in the Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques. For easy reference, the appendix to the present volume includes a register of all non-standard sign values and their mechanism(s) of substitution, with reference to the relevant discussions from Chapters 2 and 3.

The texts under consideration employ a mixture of so-called “ornamental” and “normal” cryptography.¹⁰ “Ornamental” cryptography, in which “the decorative aspect of hieroglyphic inscriptions could be expanded... as friezes of divinities and geniuses, carrying various objects,”¹¹ occurs in the present corpus primarily in the enigmatic titulary of Sety I.¹² In addition to that elaborate exemplar, the influence of ornamental cryptography can be observed also in occasional “sportive” writings that are associated primarily with the later Ptolemaic script, e.g. , for *prj*, “to emerge.”¹³ However, a majority of the enigmatic texts under consideration employ cryptography of the “normal” type, which derives alphabetic values through exploitation of the rebus principle, graphic variation, and phonetic change.¹⁴ Cryptic rebuses employ signs, which might serve normally as determinatives or ideograms for a particular non-cryptic root, as phonograms for an otherwise unrelated root with similar consonants, e.g. a grinding woman, , for *nd*, “to protect” (from *nd*, “to grind”).¹⁵ Of course, this practice merely extends

in Egypt and Ancient Western Asia 1 (Providence and Atlanta, 2012), 93–99 and 303–07. Concerning the ideological and aesthetic foundations of cryptic writing, see also L. MORENZ, *Sinn und Spiel der Zeichen. Visuelle Poesie im Alten Ägypten*, Pictura et Poesis 21 (Köln, 2008), with caveats below, at nn. 28–30.

¹⁰ Thus, DARNELL, *Solar Osirian Unity*, 23, noting the use of “unusual and complicated signs, often with possible thematic interpretations” in the Awakening of Osiris scenes.

¹¹ DARNELL, *Solar Osirian Unity*, 14.

¹² E. DRIOTON, “Les Protocoles Ornementaux d’Abydos,” *RdÉ* 2 (1936), 11–16 (“Protocole F”); see below, Ch. 3, §3.6, text T21.

¹³ See discussion below, Ch. 2, §2.5, text A15, comment i. For sportive writings in Ptolemaic Egyptian, as a development from orthographic principles evident in earlier stages of the script, see D. KURTH, *Einführung ins Ptolemäische. Eine Grammatik mit Zeichenliste und Übungsstücken*, vol. 1 (Hützel, 2009), 14–15.

¹⁴ DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 14.

¹⁵ E. DRIOTON, “Inscription énigmatique du tombeau de Chéchanq III à Tanis,” *Kêmi* 12 (1952), 25; DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 24, n. 48 (incl. male grinding figures). For the use of this figure in the present corpus, see below, Ch. 2, §2.3, text A9, comment b., and §2.5, text A15, comment m. For extended ideograms and rebuses in Ptolemaic Egyptian, many values from which also occur in earlier, cryptic contexts, see FAIRMAN, *BIFAO* 43 (1945), 97–99.

a foundational principle of the conventional hieroglyphic script itself.¹⁶ Alongside the rebus, we find many substitutions based on graphic variation, which exploit ambiguity from Hieratic, similarity of shape within the ideal square (e.g., one low, wide sign for another; one tall narrow sign for another), substitution of signs from similar classes but of different forms (e.g., one human figure for another; one bird for another), and signs of the same class shown from different aspects (e.g., a mouth in profile for a frontal mouth).¹⁷ Finally, the deliberate exploitation of phonetic change builds upon the ancient Egyptians' awareness of diachronic tendencies at work within their own language.¹⁸ Typical changes exploited include the collapse of palatal and dental plosives (*d*, *ḏ*, *t*, and *ṯ*), velars (*q*, *k*, *g*), fricatives (*z*, *s*, *š*, *ḥ*, and *ḫ*), bi-labials (*b* and *p*), and nasals (*m* and *n*).¹⁹ All of these phonetic shifts are well attested within the parameters of historical sound change, evident especially in the non-cryptic script of Late Egyptian but present in every stage of the written language.²⁰ Another aspect of phonetic change exploited in cryptography is the loss of weak radicals,²¹ such that a sign expressing an originally multi-literal root collapses around one

¹⁶ See generally, A. GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar* (Oxford, 1994, third edition), 6–8, §§5–6.


¹⁷ FAIRMAN, *BIFAO* 43 (1945), 66; DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 14, 33–34; for some representative examples, see V. VIKENTIEV, “Quelques mots énigmatiques dans un texte astronomique,” *ASAÉ* 43 (1943), 118.

¹⁸ FAIRMAN, *BIFAO* 43 (1943), 57, f, with examples in 64–65; DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 34. For a detailed examination of the final outcome of historical sound change in the Hieroglyphic script of the Greco-Roman era, see also D. KURTH, *Einführung*, vol. 1, 454–552.

¹⁹ Phonological classifications following A. LOPRIENO, *Ancient Egyptian. A Linguistic Introduction* (Cambridge, 1995), 31.

²⁰ See generally J. ČERNÝ and S.I. GROLL, *A Late Egyptian Grammar* (Rome, 1993, fourth edition), 4–7, §§1.6–11; J. F. JUNGE, *Late Egyptian Grammar. An Introduction*, translated from the German by David Warburton (Oxford, 2001), 37–45; J. WINAND, *Études de néo-égyptien, 1. La morphologie verbale*, *Aegyptiaca Leodiensia* 2 (Liège, 1992), 33–39, §§55–72. Most of these changes are evident already in Old Egyptian (E. EDEL, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, *Analecta Orientalia* 34/39 (Rome, 1955/64), vol. 1, 48–55, §§110–24) and Middle Egyptian (M. MALAISE and J. WINAND, *Grammaire raisonnée de l'égyptien classique*, *Aegyptiaca Leodiensia* 6 (Liège, 1999), 21–22, §23).

²¹ Including the “usual suspects” *ʕ*, *j*, *y*, *w*, and the feminine gender marker *t*, as well as ostensibly strong consonants like *r* (for which, see EDEL, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, vol. 1, 55–57, §§126–129; for cryptic examples, see DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 62, n. 120). In certain contexts, other normally strong phonemes like *n*, *m*, *b*, *p*, and even *f* might drop or reduce to semi-vowels, as discussed recently in KLOTZ, *GM* 233 (2012), 27–29.


or more strong consonants.²² Thus, e.g., the red crown, , writes alphabetic *n* from *n.t*, “red crown,” in which the unpronounced gender marker *t* has been dropped.²³ This “consonantal principle,” discussed most thoroughly by FAIRMAN,²⁴ is also well attested in non-cryptic contexts, wherever scribes have attempted to reconcile contemporary pronunciation with the otherwise conservative Hieroglyphic script.²⁵

In parallel to the firmly established consonantal principle stands the hypothesis of acrophony, championed by DRIOTON.²⁶ Adherents to that hypothesis seek to assign alphabetic values on the basis of any word that might conceivably be used to describe the sign in question, keeping only one, arbitrarily selected consonant (usually the first) of the hypothetical word.²⁷ Unlike the principles outlined above, acrophony is not a feature of the standard hieroglyphic script.²⁸ Furthermore, the highly subjective nature of acrophony and its potential for spurious readings have long been recog-



²² For some representative examples from the New Kingdom Books of the Sky, see VIKENTIEV, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 117–18.

²³ GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, 27, obs. (non-cryptic examples attested from early Dyn. 12).

²⁴ FAIRMAN, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 291–98; idem, *BIFAO* 43 (1945), 62–63.

²⁵ FAIRMAN, *BIFAO* 43 (1945), 132–33. Examples occur already in Early Egyptian, as a cornerstone of the Hieroglyphic system itself, e.g.,  for (s)d(j.t), “cobra” (EDEL, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, vol. 1, 50, §113), from which reduced spelling the ubiquitous, mono-literal phonogram for *d* was derived. Countless examples of standard spellings, which show the collapse of strong consonant(s) around originally weak semi-vowel(s), may be cited, e.g. *h(s)b(j)*, “festival” (ibid., 58, §132; *Wb* III, 57.5); *(j)r(j)-p^c(wt)*, “hereditary noble” (EDEL, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, vol. 1, 107–08, §249; *Wb* II, 415–16), and so forth.

²⁶ See DRIOTON, *CRAIBL* 97/3 (1953), 359–61, with additional references.

²⁷ For a particularly egregious example from the present corpus, see DRIOTON, *Kêmi* 12 (1952), 27, who assigns the value *m* to the *ntr*-fetish, , “par acrophonie sans doute de  *mdw šps*, «bâton sacré», nom général des enseignes religieuses.” For the text in question, see below, Ch. 2, §2.3, text A9, comment f.

²⁸ FAIRMAN, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 300, cites compelling statistics from Edfu demonstrating clearly that, even if acrophony was present in those Ptolemaic texts, it could account for merely five of 484 sign values catalogued in that study. Against this view, cf. now L. MORENZ, *Sinn und Spiel*, 61 ff., who frequently employs acrophony, et al., in his explanations of non-standard hieroglyphic orthographies, which he terms “visual poetry,” from the Pre-Dynastic Period through the Greco-Roman era. However, as discussed recently in KLOTZ, *GM* 233 (2012), 23, n. 22, “Many of [Morenz’s] supposed examples [of acrophony] simply repeat earlier readings by É. Drioton,” while others can be explained through simpler and more straightforward means (see ibid., 22–25; for additional discussion with regard to the present corpus, see below, Ch. 2, §2.5, text A15, and Ch. 3, §3.4, texts T13, T15, and T18).

nized.²⁹ Nevertheless, debate over the supposed existence of acrophony in cryptographic texts of the New Kingdom is ongoing.³⁰ The present study does not seek to contribute significantly to this debate. Rather, we note only that, of the “normal” and “ornamental” cryptic texts discussed herein, none have so far demanded recourse to acrophony.³¹ As a general rule, the simplest explanation, governed by common sense, is usually the best.³² Thus, a word, epithet, or concept attested elsewhere is preferable always to one that is unattested or poorly attested; a root determined frequently by a particular sign is preferable to a less obvious root; etc.

Of course, many cryptic spellings do not fit neatly into what we might consider the simplest of interpretations.³³ Thus, it is important to note that the relatively best parallel might stem from an earlier or later period, or from broader contexts and textual genres. In addition to non-standard orthographies, many of the actual terms and concepts expressed in the cryptic texts from the Awakening and Transit tableaux only resurface later, in the religious papyri of the Third Intermediate Period, or temple inscriptions

²⁹ Thus, e.g., FAIRMAN, *ASAÉ* 43 (1943), 298–305; idem, *BIFAO* 43 (1945), 51–54; W. WARD, *Studies on Scarab Seals*, vol. 1 (Warminster, 1978), 58–60; DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 15–17 and 453–54; KLOTZ, *GM* 233 (2012), 21–29.

³⁰ See esp., L. MORENZ, *DE* 61 (2005), 101–113; idem, *Sinn und Spiel*, 44 and passim, arguing for the use of both acrophony and the consonantal principle in cryptic texts; thus, also M. MÜLLER-ROTH, *Das Buch vom Tage*, OBO 236 (Fribourg and Göttingen, 2008), 453–59. For a cautious acceptance of Drioton’s methodology in principle, while acknowledging its weaknesses in practice, cf. E. WINTER, “Erfahrungsbericht über ein seit 20 Jahren verwendetes Ordnungssystem der Hieroglyphenzeichen der Spätzeit,” *GM* 14 (1974), 62–63; thus also, D. KURTH, *Einführung*, vol. 1, 122–23, who acknowledges the usefulness of many of Drioton’s readings, while urging caution in the face of numerous errors and inaccuracies uncovered in Drioton’s work.

³¹ See below, Appendix: Register of Cryptic Values in the AOTSB; noting that, of the 107 total cryptic sign values attested in the present corpus, the substitution mechanisms for five signs (C101, D26, E130, L4, and M2) remains unknown.

³² Thus emphatically, FAIRMAN, *ASAÉ* 43 (1943), 136–38. The not-infrequent inclusion of normalized, hieroglyphic “cribs” (aids to decipherment) alongside cryptic inscriptions indicates that the meanings of at least some cryptic texts were not intended to be hidden, but rather that the cryptic orthography was meant to encourage deeper reflection on the context, content, and meaning of the inscription itself (DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 472). *If the texts were meant to be understood*, as opposed to obscured, then logic dictates that esoteric allusions and overly-complicated or otherwise arbitrary mechanisms of sign substitution should constitute the exception, rather than the rule.

³³ Above all, the enigmatic titularies discussed in DRIOTON, *RdÉ* 2 (1936), 1–20; for a typical—and typically problematic—example from the present corpus, see below, Ch. 3, §3.6, text T21 (S1).

from the Greco-Roman era.³⁴ Consequently, we must remain flexible in our approach, as the phonetic values of individual signs often change radically, even within a single passage, and we should not expect any one key to unlock all doors.

³⁴ In such cases, the unseen source of continuity connecting these temporally disparate periods is surely the temple priests and scribes responsible for composing, editing, and preserving the texts, which we define broadly as “religious” in nature, and which could be redacted for use in a wide variety of contexts, as dictated by the changing rules of decorum and the ever-fluid relationships between such seemingly discrete categories as “royal” and “private,” “temple” and “tomb,” “mortuary” and “daily life,” “magical and “medical,” etc. The literature on these subjects is far too rich for adequate discussion or summary here but see, e.g., A. GARDINER, “The House of Life,” *JEA* 24 (1938), 157–79; J. BAINES, “Modeling Sources, Processes, and Locations of Early Mortuary Texts,” in S. Bickel and B. Mathieu (eds.), *D’un monde à l’autre: Textes des Pyramides et Textes des Sarcophages* (Cairo, 2004), 51–56; C. MANASSA, *The Late Egyptian Underworld: Sarcophagi and Related Texts from the Nectanebid Period*, Ägypten und altes Testament 72, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden, 2007), 468–78; VON LIEVEN, *Grundriss*, vol. 1, 293–95 and passim; R. RITNER, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, SAOC 54 (Chicago, 2008, fourth printing), 220–49; and H. HAYS, “The Death of the Democratization of the Afterlife,” in N. and H. Strudwick (eds.), *Old Kingdom: New Perspectives. Egyptian Art and Archaeology 2750–2150 BC* (Oxford, 2011), 115–30.

CHAPTER 1

DESCRIPTION OF THE SCENES

The Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques (hereafter AOTSB) occurs as a bi-partite tableau, dominated by Osirian motifs in the lower register and solar motifs in the register above. A narrow band of water separates the upper and lower divisions.³⁵ In the versions of Sety I and Mutirdis, a pair of nude females kneel at either end of the band of water, clutching papyrus plants in their laps, as rare examples of feminine fecundity figures.³⁶ Large hieroglyphic emblems indicating “east” and “west,” sprout from the heads of the figures, stretching nearly to the top of the upper register. In the version of Sety I, “east” appears on the left and “west” on the right, reflecting the linguistic interplay between *j3btj* / *j3bt.t*, “left / east” and *jmntj* / *jmnt.t*, “right / west.” Ramesses VI includes only the “western” figure, who nevertheless appears on the right-hand side of the watery border. The version of Ramesses IX omits the figures and emblems altogether; Sheshonq III includes the emblems on the expected sides but omits the figures. The private version of Mutirdis includes both fecundity figures and their emblems but reverses their orientation, such that “west” appears on the left and “east” on the right.³⁷ The relative placement of the remaining figures, although reversed with respect to earlier versions of the tableau,³⁸ remains consistent relative to the “east” and “west” emblems. This fact suggests that the perspective of the observer was of secondary

³⁵ Blue waves appear in the versions of Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX. The published line drawing and photo of the Mutirdis version indicates the presence of waves, but not their color. The published line drawings of Sety I and Sheshonq III do not indicate the presence of waves, or the color of the band on the wall.

³⁶ See J. BAINES, *Fecundity Figures. Egyptian Personification and the Iconology of a Genre* (Warminster, 1985), 110–11. The specific form of the figures in the AOTSB appears to be unparalleled. However, the figures’ association with water, the papyrus plants that they carry, and their juxtaposition to either side (facing inward) of a central *sm3-t3.wy* motif, discussed below, all recall elements from the standard iconographic repertoire associated with fecundity figures (see *ibid.*, 113, 134–38).

³⁷ Except where noted, discussions of the Mutirdis version, here and in the following chapters, refer only to the relatively well-preserved version from Chamber IV (ASSMANN’s “Szene 45”). Regarding the orientation of the versions from Chambers I (“Szene 31”) and III (“Szene 41”), the latter exhibits the reversed orientation found also in Chamber IV, while the former exhibits the traditional orientation found in earlier, royal sources (ASSMANN, *Mutirdis*, 74, §4.1.2.3; 82, §4.3.2.1).

³⁸ Thus, ASSMANN, *Mutirdis*, 14.

importance to the internal directionality of the bipartite tableau itself. As a result, the discussion that follows refers to all scenes and texts on the basis of their placement “east” or “west,” as opposed to left and right.

For a variety of reasons, considered further in Ch. 4 (§4.3.1), we begin our discussion in the lower register, with the Awakening of Osiris. Two groups of smaller deities, thirty-six in total,³⁹ flank either side of the large, central image. The “western” group includes twenty figures, arranged in four rows of five figures each, stacked to the height of the main register. The “eastern” group includes sixteen figures,⁴⁰ arranged in four rows of four figures each, stacked likewise to the height of the main register.⁴¹ The version of Ramesses IX includes two rows of figures on either side, with five deities in each row.⁴² In addition, a serpent, found only in the Ramesses IX version, balances on its tail behind the last figure in the inferior register on the “eastern” side.⁴³ In all versions, the various small figures include an mixture of male and female deities, with a variety of animal and human heads.⁴⁴ The minor figures all face the center of the tableau, clutching *w3s*-scepters in the hand that faces inward and *ꜥnh*-hieroglyphs in the hand that faces outward.⁴⁵

³⁹ Partial parallels to this group occur in a variety of royal and private mortuary contexts, as apotropaic guardians, for which see J. LECLANT, *Montouemhat: Quatrième prophète d'Amon, prince de la ville*, Bibliothèque d'Étude 35 (Cairo, 1961), 113–32; ASSMANN, *Mutirdis*, 14, 93–101, and pls. 42–45; W. WAITKUS, “Zur Deutung einiger apotropäischer Götter in den Gräbern im Tal der Königinnen und im Grabe Ramses III,” *GM* 99 (1987), 51–82, linking the figures with the thirty-six decan star groups (ibid., 69, n. 102; see below, Ch. 4, §4.3.1); and ROULIN, “Les tombes royales de Tanis: analyse du programme décoratif,” 203; similar groups of figures also occur later, in temple contexts from the Ptolemaic era, e.g., east chapel N° 3 at Dendara, for which cf. S. CAUVILLE, *Dendara. Les chapelles osiriennes*, Dendara X/1–2 (Cairo, 1997), 196–197, and pls. 95 and 124.

⁴⁰ Recall that the orientation of all figures in the version of Mutirdis is reversed from that found in the other published versions (see n. 37).

⁴¹ For the “splitting of groups” into miniature registers, stacked on either side of a central image as an indication of depth leading away from the observer, see H. SCHÄFER, *Principles of Egyptian Art*, translated from the German by John Baines (Oxford, 1986), 218–24, §4.4.4. This configuration was intended evidently to convey two files of deities flanking the corpse of Osiris from head to foot, as seen on the interior sides of the sarcophagus of Psusennes, which reproduces such an arrangement in three dimensions (see Ch. 4, fig. 4.1, below).

⁴² The west / right side preserves only the tops of the heads and parts of the upper torsos of the five figures in the uppermost register.

⁴³ For similar figures, cf. MÜLLER-ROTH, *Buch vom Tage*, 322, nr. 300.

⁴⁴ For the individual names and relative placement of these figures, see Ch. 2.

⁴⁵ The version of Ramesses IX omits the *ꜥnh*-hieroglyphs for all preserved figures; the figures preserved in the row on the lower left also omit the *w3s*-scepters. In the version

Between the two files of smaller deities, at the center of the register, we observe the mummiform figure of Osiris,⁴⁶ lying prone and enshrined upon a lion bed, with his head upraised, facing “east.”⁴⁷ In the version of Ramesses VI, Osiris is labeled also with the names of the king (§2.5, text A14). The figure wears a bag-shaped wig with a uraeus at the brow and the curved, false beard of a deity. Above him, a large *rs*-hieroglyph⁴⁸ labels the prone mummy as “awake.” In the versions of Ramesses IX and Mutirdis, the awakened Osiris wears a bull’s tail. The tail is mostly destroyed in the former exemplar; the latter is preserved from the lower back to just above the figure’s heels. Beneath the lion bed appear various royal and divine

of Ramesses VI, the first and third goddesses on the second row (Selket and Tefnut, respectively; see §2.1, texts A2/1 and A2/3), plus the first goddess on the fourth row (Isis; §2.1, text A4/1), carry lotus staves in place of the *w3s*-scepter. The fifth goddess in the fourth row from the version of Sheshonq III (§2.1, text A4/5) also carries a lotus staff.

⁴⁶ Osiris is named as such in the cryptic annotations to the adjacent standing figure of Horus; see §2.3, text A9.

⁴⁷ Similar prone figures with upraised heads are attested already from the Eighteenth Dynasty, in the Litany of Re, where they are identified as *wršj.w*, “awakened ones” (see E. HORNING, *Das Buch der Anbetung Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei) nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches*, Aegyptiaca Helvetica 2–3 (Geneva, 1975–76), vol. 2, 119, nr. 184). Those earliest examples balance precariously upon the tips of their extended toes, a convention that also occurs later, in the Book of the Earth of Ramesses VI (ROBERSON, *Books of the Earth*, 263–64). Awakening figures in the horizontal posture, as in the present scene, appear first near the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, on the second gilded shrine of Tutankhamun, which figures also include an upraised arm, reaching toward the disc of Re (J. DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 128–30 and pls. 10B–11). The nearest contemporary parallel derives from the eighth hour of the Book of Gates, the earliest complete copy of which also dates to the reign of Sety I, on that king’s alabaster sarcophagus (E. HORNING, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, Aegyptiaca Helvetica 7–8 (Geneva, 79–1980), vol. 2, 202–05 (twelve figures); *ibid.*, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife*, translated from the German by David Lorton (Ithaca and London, 1999), 55). Awakened figures derived perhaps from the present tableau begin to appear in other contexts on the Twenty-First Dynasty Mythological Papyri (A. PIANKOFF and N. RAMBOVA, *Mythological Papyri* (New York, 1957), 57–59, figs. 42–43 and n. 57, 101–102, 115, and 155; A. NIWINSKI, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.*, OBO vol. 86 (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1989), pl. 42c, with discussion of the type A.III.1b papyri on pp. 197–203, §60), as well as private sarcophagi of the Twenty-Fifth and Twenty-Sixth Dynasties (see A. MORET, *Sarcophages de l’époque bubastite à l’époque saïte* (Cairo, 1913), 32–33, CG 41001–41; É. CHASSINAT, *La seconde trouvaille à Der el Bahri (sarcophages)*, vol. 1 (Cairo, 1909), 8–9, CG 6003) and later (thus, e.g., the unique MMA sarcophagus 14.7.1, published originally in C.L.R., “A Late Egyptian Sarcophagus,” *MMA Bulletin* 9 (1914), 117, fig. 3, center, accompanied by multiple files of scepter-bearing deities, paired solar barques, winged sun discs, et al.).

⁴⁸ Two pieces of wood, lashed in the middle, representing either part of the toolkit of a bowman or else a component of a shelter (GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, 512, T13).

crowns, weapons, clothing, and other emblems.⁴⁹ The shrine, which encloses the figure atop the bed, is surmounted by rearing uraei and a pair of *serekhs*, adorned with *udjat*-eyes and falcons, which face outward.⁵⁰ In the version of Ramesses IX, a large, red disc hovers directly above the shrine, in the midst of the uraei, whose opposing files form a sort of fiery “horizon,” from which the sun emerges.⁵¹ In the version of Sheshonq III, an elongated *p.t*-hieroglyph, indicating the “sky,” stretches above the entire lower register.

In front of the bed and shrine, a second large figure, representing Horus (§2.3, text A9), stands and extends a *w3s*-scepter toward the face of the awakened god. In the version of Sety I, the *w3s*-scepter is surmounted by a *dd*-pillar and *nh*-hieroglyph. Ramesses IX, Sheshonq III, and Mutirdis omit the *dd*-pillar. In the version of Ramesses VI, the *w3s*-scepter and any additional signs that might have adorned it have been destroyed. In all royal versions, the standing figure is human-headed, reflecting the identity of Horus with the king; in the version of Mutirdis, the figure bears the head of a falcon. The awakening of Osiris by Horus illustrates an event that is described in the Book of the Dead in precisely these terms, e.g., BD 146: “I am Horus, the son of Osiris... I have brought life and dominion to my father Osiris”; and BD 171: “Horus wakes you, he adores you, he says to you, ‘O raise yourself and turn over on your bier’.”⁵²

⁴⁹ Precisely the same objects appear in private tombs and on the *frises d’objet* of coffins already in the Middle Kingdom, suggesting that “through mummification the dead person became Osiris and, therefore, like Osiris, the king of the underworld” (W. GRAJEZTKY, *Harageh, an Egyptian burial ground for the rich around 1800 BC* (London, 2004), 28; thus, already H. WILLEMS, “The Embalmer Embalmed: Remarks on the Meaning of the Decoration of Some Middle Kingdom Coffins,” in J. van Dijk (ed.), *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Herman te Velde* (Groningen, 1997), 358).

⁵⁰ Aside from the falcons themselves, the *serekhs* that adorn the shrine do not incorporate any elements from the Horus name, which might associate them with a particular individual.

⁵¹ A visual pun on the word *3h.t*, as a designation for both the fire-spitting “uraeus” and “horizon” (*Wb* I, 16–17; see discussion in J. ROBERSON, “The Early History of “New Kingdom” Netherworld Iconography: A Late Middle Kingdom Apotropaic Wand Re-Considered,” in D.P. Silverman, W.K. Simpson, and J. Wegner (eds.), *Archaism and Innovation: Studies in the Culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt* (New Haven and Philadelphia, 2009), 439).

⁵² Translations after T.G. ALLEN, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day. Ideas of the Ancient Egyptians Concerning the Hereafter as Expressed in Their Own Terms*, SAOC 37 (Chicago, 1974), 136 (Spell 146w, 6–7); and 222 (Spell Pleyte 171). Oblique references to Horus waking Osiris occur already in the Coffin Texts, for which see WILLEMS, “The Embalmer Embalmed,” 360–64.

The figures in the upper register rest directly atop the watery border, which separates the two main scenes. As in the lower register, each side of the tableau is filled with multiple rows of smaller deities, stacked to the height of the parent register. Sety I, Ramesses VI, Sheshonq III, and Mutirdis each include four rows of three deities each, on either side of the scene.⁵³ Ramesses IX includes two rows of four on the “west” and two rows of three on the “east.” Each of these minor deities also carries a *w3s*-scepter in the hand nearest the center of the tableau. In the versions of Sety I, Sheshonq III, and Mutirdis, each also carries an *nh*-hieroglyph in the hand that faces outward. The version of Ramesses VI includes *nh*-hieroglyphs with the figures on the “west” side, but not the “east.” The version of Ramesses IX includes the *nh* only on the “east” side and only for the three figures in the upper register and the lead figure in the lower register. Unlike the stacked figures in the lower register, all of the corresponding figures in the upper register are human-headed males, in all versions. The annotations to the small gods link the “western” side of the tableau with the “southern sky” and the “eastern” side of the tableau with the “northern sky,”⁵⁴ representing the four quarters of the cosmos and the totality of the celestial realm, which the sun traverses.⁵⁵

The central focus of the upper register consists of a large, winged sun-disc with pendant uraei. The disc, labeled as the “Behdetite” (§3.1),⁵⁶ hovers above a pair of barques, which meet nearly prow-to-prow.⁵⁷ A cascade

⁵³ In the version of Seshonq III, the figures in the uppermost registers on both sides are stacked side-by-side, rather than single file, in order to accommodate the decreasing width of the arched wall surface (for other examples of “apparent passing next to, and action beside, an object,” see SCHÄFER, *Principles*, 202–205, §4.4.2).

⁵⁴ See §§3.1–3, below. The pairing of ‘west + south’ and ‘east + north’ is a standard convention in scenes built around the *sema-tawy* motif (BAINES, *Fecundity Figures*, 256); for the possible stellar significance of the “northern” and “southern” deities, see QUACK, *Sudhoffs Archiv* 83 (1999), 212–223, with additional discussion below, Ch. 4, §4.3.

⁵⁵ N. THOMAS, “Solar Barks Prow to Prow,” *JEA* 42 (1956), 65–66, 69, n. 10, and 75, citing the pyramidion of Khendjer as the earliest and simplest form of this “depiction of the four points of the compass.”

⁵⁶ For the iconography and cult significance of the disc with wings, uraei, etc., as a manifestation of Horus of Behdet, see A. GARDINER, “Horus the Behdetite,” *JEA* 30 (1944), 46–52.

⁵⁷ See THOMAS, *JEA* 42 (1956), 65–79, with examples from Dyn. 4 through the Greco-Roman era; J. ASSMANN, *Egyptian Solar Religion in the New Kingdom. Re, Amun, and the Crisis of Polytheism*, translated from the German by Anthony Alcock (London, 1995), 49–51; and ROBERSON, *Books of the Earth*, 150–51. For similar representations, compare, e.g., G. ROULIN, *La Livre de la Nuit. Une composition égyptienne de l’au-delà*, OBO 147 (Göttingen, 1996), vol. 1, 74–81; a particularly noteworthy, albeit late, parallel occurs on foot end of the lid of MMA sarcophagus 14.7.1 (C.L.R., *MMA Bulletin* 9 (1914), 119, fig. 4), the top of which also bears a version of the awakened Osiris.

of *nh*- and *dd*-hieroglyphs descend from the pendant uraei, toward the prows of the paired barques. In the version of Ramesses IX, each of these cascading signs is flanked also by a pair of inward-facing *w3s*-hieroglyphs. The name(s) and titles of the deceased (§3.6) appear between the uraei and cascading hieroglyphs, extending down to the watery border, between the paired barques. The column formed by the cascading hieroglyphs and the name of the deceased forms a clear vertical axis, which bisects the entire upper register.⁵⁸ In the versions of Sety I, Ramesses VI, and Sheshonq III, the kings' titularies each rest atop a *sm3-t3.wy* emblem.⁵⁹ A field of stars appears above the wings of the sun disc in the version of Ramesses VI, with two additional discs in the upper left- and right-hand sides of the scene. Mutirdis includes an elongated *p.t*-hieroglyph, which stretches across the top of the upper register, with smaller discs at either end, inside the corners of the "sky" sign.

The paired barques are made of lashed bundles of papyrus, deeply re-curved at the stern, with elaborate reed mats draped over the prows.⁶⁰ In the versions of Ramesses VI, Sheshonq III, and Mutirdis, the prow of the boat on the "western" side is adorned also with a seated child, while the prow on the "eastern" side is adorned with a swallow. These emblems indicate the crafts' identities as the solar boats of the evening and morning, respectively,⁶¹ reinforcing the internal directionality of the tableau. At the center of each of the barques stands a figure of the deceased, facing the craft's stern. In the versions of Sety I, Ramesses VI, and Ramesses IX, this (royal) figure wears a short kilt, broad collar, and arm bands, being adorned also with the curved, false beard of a deity and a uraeus atop his brow. Ramesses VI also includes a knife in the hand of the figure in the morning boat. In the version of Sheshonq III, the figure in the evening barque wears a curved beard

For possible precursors to the solar barques from the iconography of funeral boats of the Old Kingdom, see also H. ALTENMÜLLER, "Der Konvoi der Sonnenschiffe in den Pyramidentexten," *SAK* 32 (2004), 11–33.

⁵⁸ For additional discussion, see Ch. 4, §4.3.1, below; an interesting parallel to the use of the king's name as a vertical axis indicating the solar presence occurs in the Book of the Earth of Ramesses VI, for which see ROBERSON, *Books of the Earth*, 39–40, with additional references.

⁵⁹ For the *sm3-t3.wy* as an artistic motif, see SCHÄFER, *Principles*, 155–56; as related to many of the personifications employed in the present contexts, e.g. fecundity figures, "life" and "stability" hieroglyphs, as well as themes relating to the sun, coronation, etc., see also BAINES, *Fecundity Figures*, 134–38, 226–65.

⁶⁰ For the solar symbolism of these *Treibtafeln*, or "propulsion mats," see K. GOEBS, "Expressing Luminosity in Iconography: Features of the Solar Bark in the Tomb of Ramesses VI," *GM* 165 (1998), 57–67; more generally, see also D. JONES, *A Glossary of Ancient Egyptian Nautical Titles and Terms* (London, 1988), 189, n. 159.

⁶¹ ASSMANN, *Egyptian Solar Religion*, 49–50, n. 63.

without a uraeus, while the figure in the morning barque lacks any distinguishing emblems. The corresponding figure of Mutirdis is that of a woman wearing a long dress, with no distinguishing emblems.

In each of the boats, the deceased, who faces the rear of the craft, is confronted by a male deity in the stern, with a female deity behind, in the prow. In the evening boat, the male deity is Atum (§3.4, text T13), who wears a curved false beard and his characteristic double crown, clutching a bundle of three *nh*-hieroglyphs, suspended from cords in his left hand, with an additional *nh* clutched in his right hand (the latter omitted in Sheshonq III). In the versions of Sety I and Sheshonq III, Atum also wears a bull's tail. A rectangular, reed structure appears between Atum and the curved stern of the boat in the versions of Ramesses IX and Sheshonq III. A large *šms*-hieroglyph⁶² appears between the god and the central figure of the deceased.⁶³ The goddess in the prow of the evening boat is anonymous but might represent Ma'at, in parallel to the corresponding figure from the morning boat (see below). Her right hand is raised to the left shoulder of the deceased, while her left clutches one or more *nh*-hieroglyphs.⁶⁴ In the version of Ramesses VI, a uraeus emerges from the goddess's brow. A bundle of marsh plants appears between the goddess and the figure of the deceased. In the versions of Ramesses VI and Sheshonq III, tiny swallows perch on the blossoms of two of the plants.

The male deity in the stern of the morning boat is falcon-headed and adorned with a large disc and uraeus, identifying him as a form of the sun god.⁶⁵ In the version of Ramesses IX only, the figure is human-headed, male, and wears the double crown.⁶⁶ Ramesses IX, Sheshonq III and Mutirdis, include a large *šms*-hieroglyph between the sun god and the deceased.

In all royal versions of the scene, the king and the god in the barque's prow exchange or uphold standing figurines of the goddess Ma'at.⁶⁷ In the

⁶² GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, 513, T18: a "crook... with a package containing a knife, etc. lashed to it."

⁶³ This emblem is omitted in the version of Ramesses VI.

⁶⁴ A single hieroglyph in the version of Sety I; a bundle of three or more in all other versions.

⁶⁵ Probably Re-Horakhty; see §3.5, text T17, comment o.

⁶⁶ The crown of the god in the morning boat is yellow and red, in contrast to the similarly adorned figure of Atum, whose double crown is white and red.

⁶⁷ E. TEETER, *The Presentation of Maat. Ritual and Legitimacy in Ancient Egypt*, SAOC 57 (Chicago, 1997), 11, indicates that the version of this scene from the cenotaph of Sety I is the earliest royal precedent to a type found later in the private tomb of Amunwahu and a BD papyrus composed for a certain Setnakht. Unlike those private ver-

version of Sety I, Ma'at faces the king, who therefore appears to receive the gift from the god.⁶⁸ The platform on which the figurine stands, Ma'at herself, and the adjacent figure of the sun god can be interpreted together as an elaborate rebus for Sety's throne name, *Mn-m3^c.t-R^c*.⁶⁹ This cryptic aspect of the vignette was not exploited again by subsequent kings, until the version of Sheshonq III, discussed below. In the version of Ramesses VI, the orientation of the Ma'at figurine was reversed, "suggesting that the god rather than the king is the recipient."⁷⁰ In the version of Ramesses IX, Ma'at faces the (human-headed) god in the prow but appears to be elevated equally by both figures, with no clear differentiation in their identity or status.⁷¹ In addition, the Ma'at figurine is flanked by cartouches inscribed with the birth and throne names of Ramesses IX, plus epithets (§3.5, text T18). The hieroglyphs in the two cartouches are oriented in opposite directions, such that the birth name on the right appears to refer to the king, while the throne name on the left appears to refer to the god in prow.⁷² Finally, in the version of Sheshonq III, Ma'at (facing the god) was paired with a jackal-headed *wsr*-staff (facing the king). These two images, in conjunction with the large sun disc that appears directly behind them (atop the falcon head of the god in the prow) can be interpreted as a rebus for Sheshonq's throne name, *Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c*,⁷³ expanding upon the rebus values exploited already in the version of Sety I. In contrast to the royal versions, the private version of Mutirdis omits the Ma'at figurine altogether. The falcon-headed sun god instead clutches a bundle of suspended *nh*-hieroglyphs in the right hand and a single *nh*-sign in the left, while the

sions, the king does not necessarily present the figurine to the god, rather the god participates actively with the king to jointly support Ma'at (ibid).

⁶⁸ TEETER, *Presentation of Maat*, 19.

⁶⁹ L. MORENZ, *Sinn und Spiel*, 180. The anomalous use of the platform (substitution of shape for *mn*), which, in more typical presentation scenes, appears as a *nb*-basket, was noted already in TEETER, *Presentation of Maat*, 19, who, however, does not discuss the potential cryptic significance of this alteration with regard to Sety I (but cf. Sheshonq III, discussed below). For rebus names and heraldic spellings generally, see D.P. SILVERMAN, "Cryptography," in D. REDFORD (ed.), *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, vol. 3 (Oxford, 2001), 204–06; and idem, "Cryptographic writing in the tomb of Tutankhamun," *SAK* 8 (1980), 233–36.

⁷⁰ TEETER, *Presentation of Maat*, 19.

⁷¹ TEETER, *Presentation of Maat*, 20.

⁷² As TEETER notes (*Presentation of Maat*, 20), "one might assume that the figures are two aspects of the king rather than the king and a deity."

⁷³ TEETER, *Presentation of Maat*, 20; ROULIN, "Les tombes royales de Tanis: analyse du programme décoratif," 258; L. MORENZ, *Sinn und Spiel*, 179.

deceased extends both arms downward, with the forearms and hands bent slightly outward.

The goddess in the prow of the morning boat, like her evening counterpart, is anonymous in all versions except Ramesses VI, where she is labeled as Ma'at (§3.5, text T20). In the version of Sety I, both of the goddess's arms are extended downward, in the direction of the king. The hands and whatever they originally carried have been destroyed. In all other versions, the goddess's right hand is held down across the body, in the direction of the king, while the left reaches up, to support the shoulder of the deceased. Ramesses VI, Sheshonq III, and Mutirdis all include a bundle of three or more *nh*-signs in the goddess's right hand. In the version of Ramesses IX, both of the goddess's hands are empty. In addition, a golden uraeus, not present in the other variants, emerges from the goddess's brow.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Cf. the uraeus on the brow of the goddess in the evening boat, in the version of Ramesses VI.

CHAPTER 2

ANNOTATIONS TO THE LOWER REGISTER: THE AWAKENING OF OSIRIS

The lower register depicts the awakening of Osiris by his son Horus, in the presence of various gods and goddesses connected to the Osirian myth. The annotations to the lower register appear in a mixture of cryptic and non-cryptic scripts. Captions labeling the smaller deities and the uraei atop the shrine were written in standard, hieroglyphic Egyptian. Cryptography was limited to the central figures of Horus and Osiris. The non-cryptic texts, as attested in the versions of Ramesses VI and Mutirdis, have all been translated, or at least transcribed, previously.⁷⁵ In addition, DRIOTON attempted a translation of the cryptic annotations, through a comparison of the versions of Sety I, Ramesses VI, and Sheshonq III.⁷⁶ The present study offers the first synoptic comparison of all relevant hieroglyphic texts, transliterations and, wherever possible, translations of all currently published variants. We begin with the non-cryptic captions, which label the small deities on the “western” (§2.1) and “eastern” (§2.2) sides of the lower register,⁷⁷ followed by the cryptic and non-cryptic annotations to the figures of Horus (§2.3), the uraei above the Osirian shrine (§2.4), and Osiris himself (§2.5).

In addition to the five primary sources (Sety I, Ramesses VI, Ramesses IX, Sheshonq III, Mutirdis), the group of twenty “western” and sixteen “eastern” deities (thirty-six figures, total), as well as the standing figure of Horus, all finds close parallels on a granite sarcophagus constructed originally for Merneptah and later usurped by Psusennes I in the Twenty-First Dynasty.⁷⁸ A similar group also occurs later, on a Ptolemaic coffin from Saqqara, inscribed for a certain Khaf.⁷⁹ These sarcophagus and coffin parallels have been included for comparison below, in separate columns, which

⁷⁵ See PIANKOFF, *Ramesses VI*, 439–441; and ASSMANN, *Mutirdis*, 92–93.

⁷⁶ DRIOTON, *Kémi* 12 (1952), 24–33. The present study does not generally follow Drioton’s analysis; see §§2.3 and 2.5, below.

⁷⁷ The directional associations derive from the emblems in the upper register, discussed above, in Ch. 1. These designations have been employed as opposed to “left” and “right” in order to accommodate the reversed orientation found in the version of Mutirdis.

⁷⁸ ROULIN, “Les tombes royales de Tanis: analyse du programme décoratif,” 201–03; for the figures and their annotations, see P. MONTET et al., et al., *Les Constructions et le Tombeau de Psousennès à Tanis* (Paris, 1951), 120–125, and pls. 90–93. For the layout of figures, also see below, Ch. 4, fig. 4.1.

⁷⁹ See M.G. DARESSY, “Fragments de deux cercueils de Saqqarah,” *ASAÉ* 17 (1917), 5–11.








follow the order employed in the Awakening tableau.⁸⁰ In addition to the basic captions, the Ptolemaic coffin of Khaf also provides many of the minor deities with additional, short annotations, which are not found in any of the earlier sources. These texts are spoken in the first person, as the deity addresses an anonymous second person who, from context, may be interpreted alternately as the deceased, Osiris, and/or the sun god. The annotations provide folk etymologies for the smaller gods' names, through puns and mythological allusions. Several of these annotations make use of verbal roots that are not otherwise attested prior to the Ptolemaic period. As such, they probably represent a later attempt to elucidate the roles of figures that were as obscure to the Greco-Egyptian priests as they are to modern scholars. Consequently, the Ptolemaic annotations, where present, have been included in the commentary, rather than the main entry for the figures from the original Awakening tableau.

§2.1 West side, small deities



The “western” deities appear on the left side of the tableau in all versions except that of Mutirdis, where they appear on the right (see Ch. 1). The relative order of individual deities, their iconography, and names, where preserved, are generally consistent among the different versions of the Awakening tableau. Exceptions, where they occur, are noted in the entries for each individual source. Captions are presented from the figure closest to the center, moving outward, beginning with the first (uppermost) row and ending with the fourth row, at the bottom.

⁸⁰ On both objects, the deities appear in a single register, in two opposing, symmetrical groups, the relative orders of which coincide only partially with those found in the earlier Awakening tableau (for additional discussion, see Ch. 4, §4.1, below). In addition, the Ptolemaic coffin of Khaf includes several figures and texts that are unattested in the Awakening tableau and have not been included in the present study, for which, see DARESSY, *ASAE* 17 (1917), 5–6 (first register, text and *frise*), 6–8 (nrs. 21–30, 35, and text from the lower register), 8–9 (upper register, text and *frise*), and 9–11 (nrs. 4–5, 7, 21–35, and text from the lower register). Also note additional, partial parallels from the corpus of apotropaic guardians cited above, in Ch. 1, n. 39, which have been omitted from the present study for reasons of space.

Text A1/1: First row west, first figure.

S1	R6	R9 ⁸¹	Sh3	Mt	Psusen.	Khaf ⁸²	
Male	Male	Male	Male	Male	Male	Jackal	Male
		omit					
<i>Dw3-mw.t=f, Duamutef.^a</i>					<i>Dw3-mw.t=f^b</i>		

a) One of the four sons of Horus, literally “He-who-praises his mother.” Duamutef guards the stomach of the deceased, as a protective genie on the lids of canopic jars.⁸³ All four sons of Horus face each other in two opposing pairs, with Duamutef and Qebehsenuf (Text A1/2) side-by-side in the uppermost “western” register, Imseti (§2.2, Text A5/1) and Hapi (§2.2, text A5/2) side-by-side on the uppermost “eastern” register. The corresponding goddesses, who encircle the canopic shrine, are paired as the first figures in the second register, “west” (Selqet, Text A2/1) and “east” (Neith, §2.2, Text A6/1), and the fourth register, “west” (Isis, Text A4/1) and “east” (Nephthys, §2.2, Text A8/1).

b. The Ptolemaic value *m* for , employed in both variants on Khaf’s sarcophagus, represents a substitution of kind for , which acquires the value *m* via the consonantal principle from the imperative *jmj*, “give.”⁸⁴ At Edfu, this use occurs only in spellings of *mw.t*,⁸⁵ as also here. The flesh

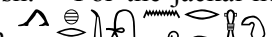
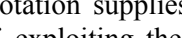
⁸¹ The “western” figures in the Ramesses IX version are largely destroyed, except for the tops of the heads and parts of the upper bodies of four of the individuals in the upper most of two original rows. However, the presence of three blank columns between the second, third, and fourth figures’ heads suggests that captions were intended originally but omitted, at least in the upper row. Cf. the fully preserved “eastern” half of the tableau, which includes blank columns in the lower row.

⁸² The sarcophagus of Khaf includes two separate figures of Duamutef. The first is jackal headed (DARESSY, *ASAÉ* 17 (1917), 6, nr. 3^o), recalling the characteristic aspect of the god, as found on canopic jar lids from the New Kingdom and later, while the second is human-headed (ibid., 8, nr. 34^o), as found in the earlier versions of the Awakening Tableau. A similar duplication of figures occurs in conjunction with Imseti, the first of the deities from the “eastern” group (§2.2, text A5/1, below).

⁸³ A. EGGBRECHT, “Duamutef,” in W. Helck and E. Otto (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden, 1975), col. 1150.

⁸⁴ FAIRMAN, *ASAÉ* 43 (1943), 219, nr. 130. For the normal Middle Egyptian sign, see GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, 454, D38.

⁸⁵ FAIRMAN, *ASAÉ* 43 (1943), 219, nr. 131. For other occurrences, see KURTH, *Einführung*, vol. 1, 174, 63, nn. 328–39.

sign employed for *f* in the human-headed variant derives from its use as a determinative in *jwḥ*, “flesh.”⁸⁶ For the jackal-headed figure of Duamutef, Khaf adds the annotation ,⁸⁷ *jw.n(=j) hr=k tw3.n(=j) tw r jr(t)-s3=k*,⁸⁸ “It is for your protection”⁸⁹ that I have come with you and elevated you.”⁹⁰ The annotation supplies a folk etymology for the initial participle of *dw3-mw.t=f*, exploiting the phonetic similarity between *tw3*, “elevate,” and *dw3*, “praise.” The convergence of these two roots in the present annotation alludes both to the elevation of the reborn solar disc and to the adoration of the resurrected Osiris.⁹¹ This theme is revisited in the annotation to the human-headed figure of Duamutef, which reads ,⁹² *tw3=f hr=k (m)*⁹³ *nww*, “He shall elevate your face, (from) the primordial waters,” interpreting the initial *dw3*-star as a phonetic variant of *tw3*, “elevate,” in parallel with the preceding annotation, and reading the final group as an abbreviated writing of *nww*, “Nun; primordial waters.”⁹⁴ The sense of the annotation as interpreted here makes relatively better sense than a reading of the same signs at face value, as **dw3=f hr=k nw.t*. “He shall praise your face, O Nut.”

⁸⁶ FAIRMAN, *ASAÉ* 43 (1943), 224, nr. 167a.

87 DARESSY, *ASAÉ* 17 (1917), 6, 3°.

⁸⁸ The suppression of the first person suffix $=j$ is relatively rare in Ptolemaic texts, being attested primarily at Edfu (D. KURTH, *Einführung*, vol. 2, 590, n. 1), for which cf. also the use of the generic stroke, discussed below, Text A1/3, comment a, n. 102. For the remaining Ptolemaic sign values, see D. KURTH, *Einführung*, vol. 1, 176, 87, n. 471 (jw), 376, 21, n. 80 ($=k$).


⁸⁹ Lit., “in order to protect you.”

⁹⁰ For the idiom *jrj-s3*, lit., “make protection,” see *Wb* III, 415.6–7.

⁹¹ See discussion in MANASSA, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 37–38. A variant of the present text appears also in conjunction with Imseti, the first of the “eastern” deities, discussed in §2.2, text A5/1, below.

⁹² DARESSY, *ASAÉ* 17 (1917), 8, 34°.

⁹³ For the increasingly frequent omission of preposition *m*, evident already in Late Egyptian, see ČERNÝ and GROLL, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, 111, §§7.2.2–4; for Ptolemaic, see also D. KURTH, *Einführung*, vol. 2, 698.

⁹⁴ Cf. P. WILSON, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 78 (Leuven, 1997), 497: . The water determinative argues in favor of *nw*, rather than *nw.t*, contemporary spellings of which are usually determined with the sky alone or some version of the anthropomorphized goddess (cf. *ibid.*, 499; and S. CAUVILLE, *Dendara. Les chapelles osiriennes index*, Bibliothèque d'Étude 119 (Cairo, 1997), 244). For the primordial waters and their relationship to the sky, etc., see J. ALLEN, *Genesis in Egypt. The Philosophy of Ancient Egyptian Creation Accounts*, Yale Egyptological Studies 2 (San Antonio and New Haven, 1995/1988), 4–7.

Text A1/2: First row west, second figure.

S1	R6	R9	Sh3	Mt	Psusen.	Khaf
Male	Male	Male	Male	Male	Male	Falcon
		omit				
<i>Qbh-sn.w=f, Qebhsenuf.</i> ^a					<i>Qbh-sn.w=f</i> ^b	

a. One of the four sons of Horus, literally “He-who-refreshes his brothers.” Qebhsenuf guards the intestines of the deceased as a protective genie on the lids of canopic jars,⁹⁵ for which see additional discussion at text A1/1, comment a., above.

b. The Ptolemaic sarcophagus of Khaf annotates Qebhsenuf as follows: ⁹⁶ *qbh.n.(=j)* ⁹⁷ *n=k ptr r-dr*, “I have presented libations for you, who sees all.”⁹⁸

Text A1/3: First row west, third figure.

S1	R6	R9	Sh3	Mt	Psusen.	Khaf
Ibis	Ibis	lost	Falcon ⁹⁹	Ibis	Ibis	Ibis
		omit				
<i>Dḥwty, Thoth.</i>					<i>Dḥwty</i>	<i>Dḥw(t)y</i> ^a

a. Khaf writes the name as a false dual, i.e. *dḥ.wy* > *Dḥw(t)y*. This spelling appears to have been influenced by the Ptolemaic-era verb *dḥdḥ*,






⁹⁵ R. DRENKHahn, “Kebehsenuf,” in W. Helck and W. Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 3 (Wiesbaden, 1980), col. 379.

⁹⁶ DARESSY, *ASAE* 17 (1917), 9, 3°.






⁹⁷ For omission of the first person suffix, see Text A1/1, comment b, n. 88.




⁹⁸ Lit., “who looks to the limit” (for *r-dr*, see GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, 79, §100).

⁹⁹ Either a mistake on the part of the ancient draftsman or the modern copyist.

“to kill,” which can also be written as ¹⁰⁰ and which was employed in Khaf’s annotation to the name of Thoth, as a folk etymology:    ¹⁰¹ *dhdh=j hr n sb(b) hr=k*,¹⁰² “I shall kill the face of the one who goes against¹⁰³ you .”





Text A1/4: First row west, fourth figure.

S1	R6	R9	Sh3	Mt	Psusen.	Khaf
Male	Male	lost	Male	Male	Male	Male
		omit	omit			
Šw, Shu.					Šw ^a	

a. Khaf adds the annotation   ¹⁰⁴ *dj.n(=j) n=k t3w ndm r fnd=k*,¹⁰⁵ “I have given sweet breath on your behalf, to your very nose.” The *t3w*, “breath,” in this case alludes to Shu’s identity as the primordial element of dry air, expelled by Atum at the moment of creation.¹⁰⁶ In this

¹⁰⁰ See P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 1246, citing a human-headed *dhdh*-figure, discussed below (text A4/3). Already in the first hour of the *Amduat*, the third of the baboons that greets the sun god is labeled as *dhdh*, for which see HORNUNG, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, *Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 13 (Genève, 1987), 115, 3; and idem, *Das Amduat. Die Schrift des Verborgenen Raumes*, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden, 1963), vol. 1, 11, nr. 3 (“Bedeutung... unklar”), citing a similarly labeled, ape-headed god from Philae and a human-headed guardian of Osiris, *Ndhdh*, from BD 17, for which cf. also Text A4/3, below.

¹⁰¹ DARESSY, *ASAÉ* 17 (1917), 10, 8°.

¹⁰² The use of the initial sign, , for alphabetic *d* is unusual but explained easily enough, by way of the consonantal principle (*dw3 > d*) and phonetic change (*d ~ d̥*; cf. the spelling    in P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 1246). The generic stroke for the first person suffix =*j* is particularly characteristic of texts from Edfu (D. KURTH, *Einführung*, vol. 2, 590, n. 8; cf. discussion of the omitted first person in Text A1/1, comment b., n. 88, above). For the remaining Ptolemaic sign values, see D. KURTH, *Einführung*, vol. 1, 224, 39, n. 124 (*h*); and above, text A1/1, comment b.

¹⁰³ Probably intended here with the same sense as the homophone *sbj hr=*, “to rebel against,” for which see P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 818.






¹⁰⁴ DARESSY, *ASAÉ* 17 (1917), 10, 9°.

¹⁰⁵ For the Ptolemaic sign values, see KURTH, *Einführung*, vol. 1, 222, 5a (*fnd*); and above, text A1/1, comment b.

¹⁰⁶ See J. ALLEN, *Genesis in Egypt*, 14.

regard, the god forms a mythological pair with Tefnut (primordial moisture), who appears as the third figure in the second row (text A2/3).







Text A1/5: First row west, fifth figure.

S1	R6	R9	Sh3	Mt	Psusen.	Khaf
Male	Male	Male	Male	Male	Male	Bovine
		omit	omit			
<i>Hp.tj</i> , ^a “He of the oar.” ^b					<i>Hp.tj</i> ^c	

a. The *nisbe* adjective is written as a false dual, with two sunshades or oars; for the latter interpretation, see n. 107, below. S1 substitutes the similarly shaped *t*-bread loaf + stroke in place of the sunshade/oar sign.


b. According to *Wb* III, 69.11–14, this term, known otherwise only from the Greco-Roman Period, designates “the world... that the king rules” and that the sun illuminates,” referring presumably to the region traversed by the solar barque. It is surely no coincidence that the present tableau depicts this very cosmos, namely the western and eastern skies, the Osirian underworld, and the cosmic waterway that unites them. That region is personified here as a deity, hence “he of,” as opposed to “that of” the oar.¹⁰⁷ The same epithet occurs in other contexts as a designation of the king, the deceased more generally, and as a protective divinity.¹⁰⁸ Of particular significance, with regard to the Awakening scene, is a late Transfiguration text (*Verklärung*), in which *Hp.tj* and Khnum “hold fast” (*ndr*) to Osiris in order to “rejuvenate” (*snhn*) the dead god.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Contra C. LEITZ, *Lexikon der Ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* (Leuven, 2002), vol. 5, 123–24, who reads the name as *Hpwy*, translated tentatively as “Der Gott des Wedels (?)” for which title, see discussion in GARDINER, *JEA* 30 (1944), 29, n. 4.







The interpretation of  in the present context as an oar, rather than a palm-shade, and of the reading *hp.tj* proposed above, are supported by alternate spellings of the god’s name as  (LEITZ, *Lexikon*, vol. 5, 123–24, nr. 20, from the festival hall of Osorkon II at Bubastis) and   (ibid., nr. 26, from a god-list at Edfu); also cf.   (ibid., nr. 17, sarcophagus of Ankhop CG29303), which need not be a mistake, as Leitz suggests, given that the *w3d*-column represents a perfectly reasonable cryptic substitution for the similarly shaped oar, which is employed otherwise.


¹⁰⁸ LEITZ, *Lexikon*, vol. 5, 123.

¹⁰⁹ LEITZ, *Lexikon*, vol. 5, 123, nr. 19.

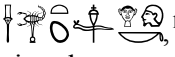
c. Khaf adds the annotation ¹¹⁰ *hs(3).t hr s.t=k hrj-tp=k*, “The wild cow¹¹¹ is upon your seat, so that you might rule,”¹¹² alluding, presumably, to the bovine aspect that the deity has assumed on the Ptolemaic sarcophagus.

Text A2/1: Second row west, first figure.


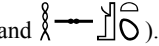
S1	R6	R9	Sh3	Mt	Psusen.	Khaf
Female	Female	<i>lost</i>	Female	Female		Female
						
<i>Srq.t</i> , ^a Selqet. ^b					<i>Srq.t</i> ^c	

a. The spelling in version Sh3 appears to superimpose the corner of a building () on the body of a scorpion. If so, then the corner sign might indicate alphabetic *q*, a cryptic value attested already in the Book of the Earth of Ramesses VI.¹¹³

b. The scorpion goddess is one of the four tutelary divinities who protect the canopic chest (see text A1/1, comment a.). Selqet was tasked with guarding the canopic jar of Qebehsenuef,¹¹⁴ who appears in the present scene as the second figure in the preceding row (text A1/2). The goddess stands opposite Neith, who appears as the first figure in the corresponding “eastern” row (§2.2, text A6/1).

c. Khaf adds the annotation ¹¹⁵ *hrp(=j) srq.t hsf(.t) hrj-tp=k*, “I shall control (any?) scorpion that opposes the fact of your rule,”¹¹⁶ alluding to the role of scorpion goddess Selqet as the ruler of her epony-

¹¹⁰ DARESSY, *ASAE* 17 (1917), 10, 10°.

¹¹¹ The “wild cow” is the mother of the sun god and was associated with Isis in her role as wet nurse to the king (P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 677, and cf. spellings  and .

¹¹² Or, perhaps “where you shall rule.” For the Ptolemaic use of *hrj-tp* as a verb meaning “to rule,” see P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 666.

¹¹³ ROBERSON, *Books of the Earth*, 339, text 28, col. 5 (*qrr.t*).







¹¹⁴ DRENKHAHN, “Qebehsenuef,” col. 379.

¹¹⁵ DARESSY, *ASAE* 17 (1917), 10, 11°.

¹¹⁶ For the Ptolemaic verb *hrj-tp*, “to rule” (relative form employed here as the object of *hsf*), see above, text A1/5, comment c, n. 112.












mous kindred,¹¹⁷ and perhaps also to the title of the ritual specialist *hrp* *Srq.t*, “controller of Selqet,” whose primary role was the treatment of scorpion stings.¹¹⁸

Text A2/2: Second row west, second figure.

S1	R6	R9	Sh3	Mt	Psusen.	Khaf
Baboon	Baboon	<i>lost</i>	Baboon	Baboon	Baboon	Ram
						
<i>Jf</i> , ^a “Flesh.” ^b					<i>Jf</i> ^c	

a. Piankoff transcribes the R6 name at face value, as Itef, for which he offers no translation.¹¹⁹ However, the spelling in that version, as well as the group written *s-f-q* in Sh3, can be explained quite easily as graphic errors (or cryptic substitutions) for the similarly shaped signs used to write *Jf*,¹²⁰ as found in S1 and Mt, as well as the sarcophagi of Psusennes and Khaf. Also note that the R6 version reverses the order of the altered determinative and viper phonogram, either as a mistake or a deliberate perturbation for graphic effect.¹²¹






b. This epithet may identify the baboon as either a personification or protector of the “flesh” of Osiris, for which see the cryptic annotations to the standing figure of Horus (§2.3, text A9, comment d.).

c. Khaf adds the annotation           ,¹²² *f*₃(=j) *hw*(=j) *hrj-tp m sb(t)*, “I shall elevate the one who protects the ruler, while travelling”; the determinative of *f*₃ alludes to the ram-headed (i.e. *ba*) aspect that the

¹¹⁷ See F. VON KÄNEL, “Selqet,” in W. Helck and W. Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 5 (Wiesbaden, 1984), cols. 830–33.

¹¹⁸ RITNER, *Magical Practice*, 53, n. 244, and p. 222; for the scorpion as an enemy of order, which is trampled, controlled, or otherwise subjugated by the gods and king, see *ibid.*, 128, n. 583.

¹¹⁹ PIANKOFF, *Ramesses VI*, 441.







¹²⁰ Substitutions of shape:  for  (Sh3), plus  (R6) and  (Sh3), respectively, for determinative .




¹²¹ For the deliberate use of perturbation, see GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, 55, §56; DRIOTON, *CRAIBL* 97/3 (1953), 357; VIKENTIEV, *ASAÉ* 43 (1943), 120.

¹²² DARESSY, *ASAÉ* 17 (1917), 10, 12°.

god has assumed on the Ptolemaic sarcophagus.¹²³ The description of the ruler as “travelling” refers presumably to the transformation of the deceased into a hypostasis of the sun, in the midst of his cyclical journey.

Text A2/3: Second row west, third figure.


S1	R6	R9	Sh3	Mt	Psusen.	Khaf
Female	Female		Female	Female	Female	Lion
		<i>lost</i>				
<i>Tfn.t</i> , Tefnut.					<i>Tfn.t</i> ^a	

a. In the version of Khaf, the scarab writes *t* (consonantal, from a late spelling of *t3*, “earth”) and the flesh sign writes *f* (consonantal, from *jwf*), both values attested in other Ptolemaic texts.¹²⁴ Khaf also adds the annotation    ¹²⁵ *tf=j hr jw*,¹²⁶ “I have been spat out on account of the one who has come,” reflecting the goddess’s well known, mythological function as the primordial moisture ejected as “spittle” (*tfn.t*) from the mouth of the creator.¹²⁷ In this role, Tefnut forms a mythological pair with Shu (primordial dry air), who appears as a the fourth figure in the first row, in the present scene (text A1/4).

¹²³ The use of the ram’s head determinative with *f3j*, “to elevate,” derives probably from similar spellings of *f3w*, “magnificence,” for which see P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 388.







¹²⁴ See FAIRMAN, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 230, nr. 199, and 224, nr. 167, respectively.

¹²⁵ DARESSY, *ASAE* 17 (1917), 10, 13°.

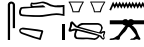
¹²⁶ On the use of the stroke for first person suffix *=j*, as subject to a preceding verb, see above, Text A1/3, comment a, n. 102. I have interpreted  as a spelling of the verb *jw*, based on the coalescence of those sounds, evident already in Late Egyptian (JUNGE, *Late Egyptian*, 38), especially in writings of the homophonous particle, for which see D. KURTH, *Einführung*, vol. 1, 522, n. 8, with additional references.

¹²⁷ See P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 1141–42. For Tefnut as the primordial moisture spat out by the creator, see J. ALLEN, *Genesis*, 13–14.

Text A2/4: Second row west, fourth figure.

S1	R6	R9	Sh3	Mt		Psusen.	Khaf
Jackal	Jackal	<i>lost</i>	Jackal	Jackal		Jackal	Jackal
							
<i>Jds</i> , <i>Isedes</i> . ^a						<i>Jds</i> ^b	

a. An obscure epithet associated with a variety of human-, falcon-, ibis-, and jackal-headed gods.¹²⁸ In his jackal aspect, Isedes serves as the father of the living king, as the living image of the king himself, as well as a protector of Osiris in the afterlife.¹²⁹

b. The final *nw*-jar (for alphabetic *n*) in the version of Khaf reflects the conflation of *Jds* and *Jsdn*, attested from the Late Period, onward.¹³⁰ Khaf annotates the name as follows: ¹³¹ *sd* ^{c.wj} *iw* ⁿ *sb(b)*,¹³² “May the two arms of the heir celebrate on behalf of the traveller.” The text provides a folk etymology, linking the medial radicals of *Jds* to the Ptolemaic-era verb *sd*, “to celebrate.”¹³³ The “two arms of the heir” recall an aspect of Horus known from the Book of the Earth,¹³⁴ which probably also evokes the Osirian role of Isedes as the father of his “heir” (*iw*), the living king.¹³⁵ The “traveller” mentioned here is presumably the deceased as a hypostasis of the sun.

¹²⁸ *Wb* II, 134.10–12; LEITZ, *Lexikon*, vol. 1, 560.

¹²⁹ LEITZ, *Lexikon*, vol. 1, 560–61, B. and G.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 558.

¹³¹ DARESSY, *ASAÉ* 17 (1917), 10, 14°.







¹³² For the Ptolemaic sign values, see D. KURTH, *Einführung*, vol. 1, 425, 11, n. 41 (^{c.wj}), 228, 92, n. 336 (*iw*).



¹³³ A back-formation from the old compound noun *hb-sd*, “festival” (P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 973, attested with the ‘tongue of land’ determinative, as here).

¹³⁴ In that book, *hrw* ^{c.wj}, “Horus of the two arms,” assists the emergence of Osiris from the recumbent body of Atum, the primordial creator (see ROBERSON, *Books of the Earth*, 170–71); the divine name *hrw* ^{c.wj} might also reflect a deliberate perturbation of *hrw* *iw*, “Horus the heir” (for which, see LEITZ, *Lexikon*, vol. 5, 246).

¹³⁵ See LEITZ, *Lexikon*, vol. 1, 560, B.2.b.

Text A2/5: Second row west, fifth figure.

S1	R6	R9	Sh3	Mt	Psusen.	Khaf
Female	Female	<i>lost</i>	Female	Female	Female	Female
						
<i>Snd.t</i> , ^a “She-who-is-frightful.” ^b					<i>Snd.t</i> ^c	

a. The spellings in R6, Sh3, and Mt all reflect the depalatization of *d* to *d*, encountered very frequently in both cryptic and non-cryptic Underworld texts of the Ramessid Period and later. The spelling in S1, as **snn*, must be regarded either as a mistake or perhaps as a partially cryptic writing, in which the second water sign substitutes for  through similarity of shape (one low, flat sign for another), or perhaps for  (*t3* > *t* > *d* / *d*), one of “numerous interchanges of land and water signs,” attested with such values.¹³⁶



b. An epithet of Hathor, which calls to mind the goddess’s aspect as the vengeful, leonine eye of the sun.¹³⁷

c. Khaf adds the annotation       ¹³⁸ *snd n=k jmj.w kkw*,¹³⁹ “May those who are in darkness be afraid of you.”¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 53–54 and n. 90; cf. below, text A4/2, comment a.







¹³⁷ *Wb* IV, 185.6; P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 879.

¹³⁸ DARESSY, *ASAÉ* 17 (1917), 10, 15°.


¹³⁹ The spelling of *kkw* employs the *k3* arms for alphabetic *k* (via the consonantal principle; see D. KURTH, *Einführung*, vol. 1, 171, 45, n. 227), plus the sky and star as a graphic variant of the more usual determinatives  and .

¹⁴⁰ For *snd n=*, “be afraid of someone,” see *Wb* IV, 182.6–10; contra LEITZ, *Lexikon*, vol. 6, 402, who transcribes tentatively “*snd.i n.k imyw kkw*?” but offers no translation.

*Text A3/I: Third row west, first figure.*¹⁴¹

S1	R6	Sh3	Mt	Psusen.	Khaf
Jackal	Jackal	Jackal	Jackal	Jackal	Jackal
					
<i>Bqbg</i> , “Barker.” ^a				<i>Bqbg</i> ^b	

a. *Wb* I, 479.12 cites a word *bqbg*, determined with walking legs, as a “characteristic (of the heart),” attested from the Middle Kingdom. Unfortunately, this reference hardly elucidates the meaning of the present deity’s name. Given the figure’s canine aspect, I suggest that *Bqbg* here might instead be regarded as onomatopoeia, reflecting the jackal’s yelping call. Thus, also the simplex root found in Sh3, i.e., “beq!” versus “beq-beq!”

b. Khaf adds the obscure annotation ,¹⁴² *b(3)q(=j)* {*thj* ?? *n* ?? *wtw* ?? *sbj*}, “I shall cause to be sound {???” The reduced root *b(3)q*, “be bright, clear; (cause to) be sound,”¹⁴³ provides the folk etymology for the divine name.


¹⁴¹ The third and fourth rows of small deities are omitted in the version of Ramesses IX.

¹⁴² DARESSY, *ASAE* 17 (1917), 10, 16°.

¹⁴³ The ‘tree’ determinative and reduced root are attested from the New Kingdom and later (see *Wb* I, 424–25, and p. 479). The causative sense, as employed perhaps here, is characteristic of Greco-Roman texts (ibid., 425.13–16).

a. Perhaps a catfish or similar, bottom-feeding fish, as suggested by the (presumably) related noun *hs* (*hz*), “canal, well.”¹⁴⁸ The name *Hssy*, with fish determinative, occurs in conjunction with catfish-headed figures in the Book of Caverns,¹⁴⁹ as well as on the sarcophagus of Ramesses III, with numerous royal and, from the Late Period, private copies.¹⁵⁰ In those texts, the catfish-gods are responsible for conducting the nascent sun through the primordial waters of Nun. Regarding figures’ heads in the present tableau, note that the iconography of ichneumon-, crocodile-, and catfish-headed deities is quite similar, being differentiated primarily through the presence or absence of whiskers, the indication and length of a mouth slit, and the terminal shape of the snout.¹⁵¹ This iconographic similarity accounts presumably for the variability of the various mammalian and reptilian deities labeled as “fishy” in the present context.

b. As with the figure’s iconography, the caption appears to have been misunderstood or otherwise corrupted on Psusennes’s sarcophagus. This spelling might have been influenced by the verb *hsf*, “to repel,”¹⁵² as was certainly the case in the Ptolemaic variant, discussed below.


c. Khaf adds the annotation ,¹⁵³ *hsf.n(=j) hft(j).w=k*,¹⁵⁴ “Thus have I repelled your enemies,” as a folk etymology for the first two radicals of the god’s name, *h-s*.

¹⁴⁸ *Wb* III, 332.4. For caveats on the conventional translation as “catfish,” see ROBERSON, *Books of the Earth*, 256, n. 820, with additional references.

¹⁴⁹ D. WERNING, *Das Höhlenbuch. Textkritische Edition und Textgrammatik*, Göttinger Orientforschungen Ägypten 48, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden, 2011), 50–51, n. e, and 110–11, n. c, with additional references.

¹⁵⁰ MANASSA, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, vol. 1, 32; also see LEITZ, *Lexikon*, vol. 5, 965.


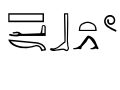




¹⁵¹ See E. BRUNNER-TRAUT, “Spitzmaus und Ichneumon als Tiere des Sonnengottes,” *NAWG* 7 (1965), 148–49, n. 3.

¹⁵² Cf. the spear-carrying demon , *Hsfw*, “He-who-repels” (*Wb* III, 333.1). The orthography employed in Ps. resembles a relative form, from an otherwise unattested 3ae-inf. root **hs(j)*.

¹⁵³ DARESSY, *ASAE* 17 (1917), 10, 18°.

¹⁵⁴ The flesh sign writes *f* in *hft(j).w*, “enemies,” by the consonantal principle, from *jwḥf* (FAIRMAN, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 224, nr. 167); for similar spellings of this word, see P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 726; and S. CAUVILLE, *Dendara Index*, 422.







Text A3/4: Third row west, fourth figure.

S1	R6	Sh3	Mt	Psusen.	Khaf
Lion	Lion	Lion	Lion	Lion	Lion
					
$\check{S}^c\text{-}b\text{t}w$, “He-who-slices the serpent.” ^a				$\check{S}^c\text{-}b\text{t}w$ ^b	


a. The $b\text{t}w$ -serpent is a poisonous snake associated with the arch-fiend Apep.¹⁵⁵ The use of this epithet in conjunction with a leonine deity alludes perhaps to the sun-god in his role as the “Great tom-cat” ($m\text{j}w$ ^c3), who slaughters Apep with a knife in the vignette to Book of the Dead spell 17.

b. Khaf adds the annotation ¹⁵⁶ $\check{S}^c\text{-}jw(t=j)$ $r=k$,¹⁵⁷ “I shall be first to¹⁵⁸ come to you,” as a folk etymology for the root consonant \check{S}^c .

Text A3/5: Third row west, fifth figure.

S1	R6	Sh3	Mt	Psusen.	Khaf
Ram	Ram	Ram	Ram	Ram	Male ¹⁵⁹
					
$\text{H}nf\check{3}$, “He-who-is-arrogant.” ^a				$\text{H}nf\check{3}$	$\text{H}nfj$ ^b

a. See *Wb* III, 292.1. The significance of this name is unknown. LEITZ, *Lexikon*, vol. 5, 751, suggests tentatively “Der Behaarte (?)”, i.e. He-who-is-hairy. This appears to have been the Ptolemaic understanding of the root, as the Khaf annotation suggests (comment b., below).

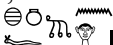
¹⁵⁵ *Wb* I, 485.11–12. The spelling here reflects the depalatization of the medial consonant, $\text{t} > \text{t}'$; cf. *ibid.*: .

¹⁵⁶ DARESSY, *ASAE* 17 (1917), 10, 19°.





¹⁵⁷ For this spelling of jw , see above, text A2/3, comment a.

¹⁵⁸ For \check{S}^c + infinitive, meaning “do first, begin,” see P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 987.

¹⁵⁹ The figure holds two lizards in his hands.


b. The final *aleph*, found in all other versions, has weakened to *j*. Khaf adds the annotation ,¹⁶⁰ *hnf.n(=j) hr n*¹⁶¹ *jmj kkw*,¹⁶² “I have equipped with a beard (?) the face of the one who is in darkness.” *Wb* III, 291.11, indicates only that *hnf* is a Greco-Roman verb referring to the face. Given that “face,” rather than “head,” serves as the object, the word’s ‘hair’ determinative, would appear to suggest an activity of the beard or eyebrows. If “bearding” was intended, the annotation might, therefore, be understood with reference to Osiris, who is described at Edfu as *k3 hbsw.t*, “long of beard.”¹⁶³

Text A4/1: Fourth row west, first figure.

S1	R6	Sh3	Mt	Psusen.	Khaf
Female	Female	Female	<i>lost</i>	Female	<i>lost?</i> ¹⁶⁴
					
(3) <i>s.t</i> , Isis. ^a				(3) <i>s.t</i>	

a. Isis is paired with Nephthys, who appears as the first figure on the opposite, “eastern” row (§2.2, text A8/1). The relative placement of the two goddesses reflects their well-attested associations with the west (Isis) and east (Nephthys) in Egyptian texts and art,¹⁶⁵ as well as their ubiquitous association with various forms of the resurrected Osiris. In the present context, Isis and Nephthys function specifically as two of the four guardians of the canopic shrine. This role is reinforced by the presence of the other canopic goddesses, Selqet (text A2/1, above) and Neith (§2.2, text A6/1), as the first figures in the second row, “west” and “east,” respectively; together with the four sons of Horus, in two opposing pairs,

¹⁶⁰ DARESSY, *ASAE* 17 (1917), 8, 31°.

¹⁶¹ For  as the masculine genitive particle in Ptolemaic Egyptian, see P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 554.

¹⁶² For *kkw*, see above, text A2/5, comment c.






¹⁶³ P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 719.



¹⁶⁴ No corresponding figure is preserved, although it is possible that Isis appeared originally as the now-destroyed figure leading the group of deities on the right (DARESSY, *ASAE* 17 (1917), 9, 1°); cf. the sarcophagus of Psusennes, where Isis leads the three deities on interior left of the foot end (MONTET et al., *Tombeau de Psousennès*, pl. 90).

¹⁶⁵ See, e.g., J. ASSMANN, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott. Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Hymnik I*, MÄS 19 (Berlin, 1969), 341, n. 19; with additional discussion in ROBERSON, *Books of the Earth*, 172, n. 300.


from the first row, “west” and “east,” respectively (see text A1/1, comment a.).


Text A4/2: Fourth row west, second figure.

S1	R6	Sh3	Mt	Psusen.	Khaf
Ibis	Ibis	Ibis	<i>lost</i>	Ibis	Dog? ¹⁶⁶
					
<i>Thn-hr</i> , ^a “Ibis-face.”	<i>Thn-<hr></i> , ^b “Ibis-<face>.”			<i><Th>n-hr</i> ^c	<i>Thn-hr</i> ^d

a. Version R6 employs  for  ($t_3 > t$), through an attested substitution of low, horizontal signs of water and land,¹⁶⁷ for which cf. above, text A2/5, comment a. Given the three parallel texts and the ibis-head of the figure in question, this reading must be regarded as preferable to Piankoff’s tentative “*nhn-hr*, Child-face (?)”.¹⁶⁸

b. The use of the *jb*-heart, in place of the *hr*-face, reflects a simple substitution of shape, both signs being approximately ovoid with small protuberances on either side; a similar substitution also occurs in Text A5/4 (comment c.). Since the minor figures’ names are not generally written cryptically, and the *hr*-face does not resemble the *jb*-heart in hieratic, this spelling may reflect a scribal error from one hieroglyphic copy to another.

c. In addition to the present figure with its obviously corrupt caption, Psusennes also includes a ram-headed deity labeled as  *Thn-hr*.¹⁶⁹

d. Substituting the *nw*-jar for the similarly shaped *hr*-face.¹⁷⁰ In addition, Khaf adds the annotation  ¹⁷¹ *n(j) gm hr(y).t=fjn sbb*, “No

¹⁶⁶ Thus, DARESSY, *ASAÉ* 17 (1917), 10, 20°; apparently a mistake.

¹⁶⁷ See DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 53–54 and n. 90.

¹⁶⁸ PIANKOFF, *Ramesses VI*, 441, n. 3.






¹⁶⁹ MONTET et al., *Tombeau de Psousennès*, pl. 90, bottom right (opposite the corresponding ibis-headed figure).

¹⁷⁰ Or, for that matter, the *jb*-heart, as in Sh3 and Mt.


¹⁷¹ DARESSY, *ASAÉ* 17 (1917), 10, 20°.

fear (?) of his can be found by the traveller.” The word *hr(y).t* is a pun on *hr*, “face,” from the divine name.

Text A4/3: Fourth row west, third figure.

S1	R6	Sh3	Mt	Psusen.	Khaf
Jackal	Jackal	Jackal	<i>lost</i>	Male	Male ¹⁷²
					
<i>Hddw</i> , “Destroyer” ^a				<i>Hdd</i>	<i>Dhḏh</i> , ^b “he who kills”

a. *Wb* III, 205.2–6, cites a 3ae-inf. root *hḏj*, meaning “to encircle or protect with wings.” But while the reduplication of the second radical suggests a participle derived from a final weak root, the sense of protection with wings seems unlikely, given the figure’s canine aspect. I suggest instead that the underlying root is *hḏj*, “to destroy,” said of body parts and enemies.¹⁷³ This epithet might refer to the canine’s role as a pilferer of human remains, from which the earliest, apotropaic jackal cults are presumed to have arisen.¹⁷⁴ The spelling *hddw* reflects the depalatization of *ḏ* to *d*, encountered very frequently in both cryptic and non-cryptic Underworld texts of the Ramessid Period and later.

b. Apparently a re-interpretation or corruption of the earlier root *hdd*,¹⁷⁵ “destroy.” In addition, Khaf adds the annotation ¹⁷⁶ *ḏhḏh.n(=j) n=k sbj.w=k*,¹⁷⁷ “Thus, have I killed your rebels for you.”






¹⁷² The figure holds a long, vertical snake and a knife.

¹⁷³ *Wb* III, 213.1–2.


¹⁷⁴ J. BAINES, “Symbolic Roles of Canine Figures on Early Monuments,” *Archéo-Nil* 3 (1993), 68. For reservations against the modern interpretation of jackals as a significant threat to early Egyptian grave sites, see now T. DUQUESNE, *The Jackal Divinities of Egypt I. From the Archaic Period to Dynasty X*, Oxfordshire Communications in Egyptology VI (London, 2005), 373, §470.

¹⁷⁵ For the Ptolemaic verb *ḏhḏh*, “to kill,” see P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 1246 (citing the present example, et al.); also cf. the spelling of *ḏhw(t)y*, “Thoth,” in Text A1/3, above. HORNUNG, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, 11, nr. 3, notes a similarity between the name *ḏhḏh* (referring to a baboon from the first hour of the *Amduat*) and the human-headed *Nḏhḏh*, who occurs as one of the “seven blessed ones” that guard the corpse of Osiris in BD 17 (for which, see T.G. ALLEN, *Book of the Dead*, 29).

Text A4/4: Fourth row west, fourth figure.

S1	R6	Sh3	Mt		Psusen.	Khaf
Falcon	Frontal <i>hr</i> -face	Frontal <i>hr</i> -face	Frontal <i>hr</i> -face		Frontal <i>hr</i> -face	Male
			<i>lost</i>			
<i>Hr=fm sd.t</i> , “His face is as flame.” ^a					<i>Hr=fm sd.t</i> ^b	

a. Probably not “in” flame,¹⁷⁸ which might suggest instead a punishment of the damned. Rather, the “face” in question is most likely the disc of the sun itself. This observation accounts for the difference between the falcon-headed figure of S1 and the frontal (human) faces of R6, Sh3, and Mt. The falcon is a well known hypostasis of the sun god. Likewise, the frontal face occurs throughout the Underworld Books and elsewhere as a tacit indicator of the solar presence.¹⁷⁹ The *hr*-face might also allude phonetically to the earlier falcon head as *Hrw*, “Horus.”

b. Khaf adds the annotation ,¹⁸⁰ *hw.n.(=j) jwf=k m hr.t-hrw*,¹⁸¹ “Daily, have I protected your flesh.” No folk etymology is readily apparent, although the god’s mention of protecting the flesh, i.e. the bodily remains of the deceased/Osiris, echoes an annotation to the standing figure of Horus, who is said also to “protect” (*nd*) the god’s flesh (§2.3, text A9).


¹⁷⁶ DARESSY, *ASAÉ* 17 (1917), 6, 4°.

¹⁷⁷ For similar ideographic spellings of *sbj*, “rebel” (verb and noun), see P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 818–819.





¹⁷⁸ Contra PIANKOFF, *Ramesses VI*, 441.

¹⁷⁹ See C. FAVARD-MEEKS, “Face et profil dans l’iconographie égyptienne,” *OLP* 23 (1992), 15–36. For examples from the Underworld Books, cf. the eleventh hour of the Book of Gates (E. HORNUNG, *Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, “Übersichten der zwölf Nachtstunden,” Elfte Stunde); and the Book of the Earth of Ramesses VI (ROBERSON, *Books of the Earth*, 170–72).



















¹⁸⁰ DARESSY, *ASAÉ* 17 (1917), 7, 20°.

¹⁸¹ The single flesh sign embedded inside the composite glyph  serves as a phonetic complement (*w*) for *hr.t-hrw* (for the former value, see FAIRMAN, *ASAÉ* 43 (1943), 224, nr. 167b; for the latter spelling, cf., *Wb* III, 391; and S. CAUVILLE, *Dendara Index*, 447; with additional discussion in P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 775).

Text A4/5: Fourth row west, fifth figure.

S1	R6	Sh3	Mt	Psusen.	Khaf
Cat	Cat	Cat		Cat	Lion ¹⁸²
<i>lost</i>			<i>lost</i>		
<i>Hr m hwr.t</i> , “Face as a poor woman (?).” ^a				<i>Hr m hwr.t</i>	<i>Rs hr=j</i> , “Vigilant.” ^b







a. The sense of the name is obscure.¹⁸³ For *hwr.t*, “poor woman,” in connection with Osiris, cf. *CT* V, 283–84: “To pass by the primeval one and to drive off a snake: ‘From the poor woman to the poor woman’s house, have I gone forth. I am as one who measures the face, while searching for Osiris in Heliopolis.’”

b. Lit., “My face is awake/watchful.”¹⁸⁴ To this caption, Khaf adds the annotation                  

§2.2 East side, small deities

The captions to the four rows of “eastern” deities in the lower register are presented in the same order as those in §2.1: Inner-most to outer-most, top to bottom. Parallels from the sarcophagi of Psusennes and Khaf are listed in the order found in the original Awakening scene. As with the preceding group, the iconography and relative order of the figures are mostly consistent among the different sources, with occasional exceptions treated in the notes to individual figures. The most significant exception, however, is found in the version of Ramesses IX, which employs an abbreviated arrangement of eleven anonymous figures,¹⁸⁷ whose iconography does not correspond with that of the twelve figures found in the other sources.¹⁸⁸

Text A5/1: First row east, first figure.


S1	R6	R9	Sh3	Mt	Psusen.	Khaf ¹⁸⁹	
Male	Male	Fem.	Male	Male	Male	Male	Jackal
		<i>omit</i>	<i>omit</i>				
<i>(J)ms.tj</i> , Imseti. ^a		?	?	<i>Jms.tj</i>	<i>Jms.tj</i> ^b		



a. One of the four sons of Horus, originally a personification of the dill herb.¹⁹⁰ As a canopic genie (see text A1/1, comment a.), Imseti was respon-

¹⁸⁷ Three blank columns in the lower row suggest that captions were planned but never completed.

¹⁸⁸ The figures in the first row are, from innermost to outermost: Female, crocodile, male, frog, canine (white). In the second row, innermost to outermost: Ram, male (blue-black), female, male, male, serpent balancing on tail.

¹⁸⁹ The sarcophagus of Khaf includes two separate figures of Imseti. Both of the two figures appear among the file of deities on the left side of the second register, as the second and thirty-second deities (see DARESSY, *ASAÉ* 17 (1917), 6–8). The first is human-headed—the god’s usual form on canopic jar lids, as well as in the earlier versions of the Awakening Tableau—while the second is jackal-headed. The latter form was probably intended to parallel that of Duamutef, the first god in the “western” group, who also appears twice, in both human- and jackal-headed forms (§2.1 text A1/1, above), and whose annotation parallels that of Imseti (present text, comment b.).

sible for guarding the liver of the deceased.¹⁹¹ The R6 version employs the *mr*-canal with the reduced phonetic value *mj*, becoming *m* through omission of the final weak radial; written thus, the name resembles the word  *mjs.t*, “liver” (*Wb* II, 44.11) and was intended perhaps to evoke that organ, which Imseti guards.

b. To the human-headed figure, Khaf adds the annotation  ¹⁹² *j=j hr=k tw3.n(=j) tw r jr(t)-s3=k*,¹⁹³ “It is for your protection¹⁹⁴ that I (shall) come with you, after having elevated you.” This text does not provide any obvious folk etymology for the name of Imseti. Rather, it appears to have been adapted from the annotation to Duamutef, the first of the “western” deities, discussed above (§2.1, text A1/1). The parallelism and symmetry of these two emphatic texts enforces the sense of transit over time, from past (Duamutef, west: “It is for your protection... that I have come with you”) to present / future (Imseti, east: “It is for your protection... that I (shall) come with you”).¹⁹⁵ For the second, jackal-headed figure, Khaf adds the annotation  ¹⁹⁶ *jm3=j (?)*¹⁹⁷ *hf3w.w*¹⁹⁸ *tjtj (?)*¹⁹⁹ *n=k*,²⁰⁰ “I shall rejoice (?) after the serpents have been trampled (?) for you.” The verb *jm3* provides the folk etymology for *jms.tj*.

¹⁹⁰ A. EGGBRECHT, “Amset,” in W. Helck and E. Otto (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden, 1975), col. 226, n. 11; a nisbe formation from *jms.t*, “dill,” for which see *Wb* I, 88.9.

¹⁹¹ EGGBRECHT, “Amset,” col. 226.


¹⁹² DARESSY, *ASAÉ* 17 (1917), 6, 2°.

¹⁹³ On the generic stroke for first person suffix =*j*, see above, §2.1, text A1/3, comment a. For the wig writing the second person suffix =*k*, see text A1/1, comment b.

¹⁹⁴ Lit., “in order to protect you.”


¹⁹⁵ The temporal distinction between present and future is probably irrelevant here; the dichotomy is simply +past (*jw.n=j*) vs. –past (*j=j*).

¹⁹⁶ DARESSY, *ASAÉ* 17 (1917), 8, 32°.



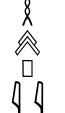


¹⁹⁷ The determinative in Daressy’s transcription somewhat resembles a fist (), but this hardly helps elucidate the sense of the verb. The transcription given above renders the unclear sign as the *jm3*-tree turned on its side, in accord with the preceding phonograms, *j-m*.

¹⁹⁸ Other readings for the serpent logogram are equally plausible, e.g. *r3.w*, “serpents” (see P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 575; FAIRMAN, *ASAÉ* 43 (1943), 229, nr. 194a)

¹⁹⁹ The medial knife determinative (?) is unexpected.


²⁰⁰ If the interpretation of the preceding verb as *tjtj*, “trample,” is correct, then the dative *n=k*, “for you,” would seem to make better sense than *r=k*, “toward you; against you.” The use of  for *n* is attested in other Ptolemaic texts, at Edfu, although the context is not secure (see FAIRMAN, *ASAÉ* 43 (1943), 217, nr. 114; D. KURTH, *Einführung*, vol. 2, 519, §17.5, n. 12).

Text A5/2: First row east, second figure.

S1	R6	R9	Sh3	Mt	Psusen.	Khaf
Male	Male	Crocodile	Male	Male	Baboon	Jackal ²⁰¹
		omit	omit			
<i>Hpy, Hapy.</i> ^a		?	?	<i>Hpy</i>	<i>Hpy</i> ^b	<i>Hpy</i> ^c

a. One of the four sons of Horus. As a canopic genie (see §2.1, text A1/1/, comment a.), Hapy was tasked with guarding the lungs of the deceased.²⁰²

b. Written as a false dual, i.e. **hp.wy*, with phonetic complements *p-y* transposed to the front of the word. The value of the goose as *hp* derives apparently from that sign's use as a determinative in the name of the Apis bull (*Hp*), as found already in the Pyramid Texts.²⁰³ Spellings of Hapy's name with the double goose occur at least as early as the Coffin Texts.²⁰⁴

c. Substituting the double jabiru for the double goose, one pair of birds for another. In addition, Khaf adds the annotation ,²⁰⁵ *h3p(=j) qrs.t=k (m) 'h=k*,²⁰⁶ "I shall conceal your burial (in) your palace." The verb *h3p*, "conceal," provides the folk etymology for the divine name *hpy*.




²⁰¹ The figure carries a serpent.

²⁰² A. EGGBRECHT, "Hapi," in W. Helck and E. Otto (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden, 1977), col. 952.






²⁰³ Thus, PT §§279d (two geese), 286e (T), 1313c, 1998b.

²⁰⁴ R. VAN DER MOLEN, *A Hieroglyphic Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, Probleme der Ägyptologie 5 (Leiden, 2000), 328, cites five such examples (CT V, 91a, 170b, 357 XVII, 358 XXVIII; and VI, 111b).


²⁰⁵ DARESSY, *ASAÉ* 17 (1917), 8, 33°.

²⁰⁶ For the Ptolemaic sign values, see D. KURTH, *Einführung*, vol. 1, 136, 46, n. 356 (*qrs.t*), 173, 59c–d (*'h*). It is also possible that  substitutes for , as a writing of *s'h*, "mummy" (see *ibid.*, 135, 45, n. 350), which would provide an alliterative connection to the following word *'h*, "palace." The lacuna between *'h* and suffix *=k* is sufficient for the expected determinative  (cf. spellings in P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 169). In other Ptolemaic contexts, the *'h* usually designates a sanctuary or palace of the king or a god (*ibid.*). The concealment of the god's burial, or mummy—presumably that of Osiris—within a temple complex immediately calls to mind the disposition of the cenotaph of Seti I below ground, behind the king's temple at Abydos.

Text A5/3: First row east, third figure.

S1	R6	R9	Sh3	Mt	Psusen.	Khaf
Male	Male	Male	Male	Lion	Lion	Lion ²⁰⁷
		omit	omit			
<i>Rw.tj</i> , “Double lion.” ^a		?	?	<i>Rw.tj</i>	<i>Rw.tj</i> ^b	

a. A god of the horizon. By the New Kingdom at the latest, *Rw.tj* had become more or less interchangeable with the double sphinx Aker. In addition, as a tutelary deity of Heliopolis, *Rw.tj* was associated also with Shu and Tefnut (see below, A6/3, a.), who both appear among the opposing group of “western” deities (§2.1, A1/4 and A2/3, respectively).

b. Khaf adds the annotation ,²⁰⁸ *rw.n(=j) n=k* *hft(j).w=k*,²⁰⁹ “I have dispelled your enemies on your behalf.” The verb *rw(j)*, “dispel, drive off,”²¹⁰ provides the folk etymology for *rw.tj*, “double lion.”




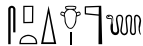
²⁰⁷ The figure carries two knives.

²⁰⁸ DARESSY, *ASAE* 17 (1917), 7, 8°.

²⁰⁹ For *hft(j).w*, “enemies,” see above, §2.1, text A3/3, comment c.


²¹⁰ For this spelling, see P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 576, ex. 12.

Text A5/4: First row east, fourth figure.

S1	R6	R9	Sh3	Mt	Psusen.	Khaf
Male	<i>lost</i>	Frog	Male	Ibis	Ibis	Ibis ²¹¹
		<i>omit</i>	<i>omit</i>			
<i>Spd</i> , ^a Soped.		?	?	<i>Spd-ḥr</i> , “Sharp of face.” ^b	<i>Spd-ḥr</i>	<i>Spd-<ḥr></i> , “Sharp of face” ^c

a. Soped (lit., the “sharp one”) was a deity of the eastern deserts, which directional association was preserved in the god’s placement on the “eastern” side of the present tableau. Frankfort’s hand copy indicates a small abraded area just beneath the final *d* of Soped’s name. It is possible that this lacuna originally included a *ḥr*-face, as in the versions of Mutirdis and Psusennes. However, that epithet appears to reflect a re-analysis of the god as an avian deity (see following comment), whereas the S1 figure is clearly human-headed.

b. Apparently, Soped has been re-interpreted in the later sources as an Ibis, one whose face is literally “sharp.” The expression probably also conveys the usual metaphorical sense of “alert,”²¹² as befitting a bird of prey and guardian demon, for which, cf. Khaf’s annotation, discussed below.

c. It seems likely that the *jb*-heart substitutes here for the similarly shaped *ḥr*-face, as in Mutirdis and Psusennes (cf. also A4/2, comment b., above). The annotation that accompanies Khaf’s figure also supports this interpretation: ²¹³ *spd-ḥr=j r npd sb=k*, “I am ready to slaughter,²¹⁴ wherever you might go.”






²¹¹ The figure carries two knives.

²¹² *Wb* IV, 109.14.


²¹³ DARESSY, *ASAE* 17 (1917), 7, 9°.

²¹⁴ Lit., “sharp-of-face / alert in order to slaughter.” For this spelling of *npd*, “slaughter, cut” cf. P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 512, exs. 2–3.

Text A6/1: Second row east, first figure.

S1	R6	R9	Sh3	Mt	Psusen.	Khaf
Female	Female	Ram	Female	Female	Female	Female ²¹⁵
<i>lost</i>		<i>omit</i>				
<i>N.t.</i> ^a Neith		?	<i>N.t</i>		<i>N.t</i> ^b	






a. Written with multiple, superfluous *t*-signs, under the influence of contemporary Late Egyptian orthography. The Lower Egyptian goddess functions here as the counterpart of Selqet, in the opposite, “west” register (§2.1, text A2/1). These two goddesses, together with Isis (§2.1, text A4/1) and Nephthys (below, text A8/1), serve as the tutelary deities of the canopic shrine, within which the four sons of Horus protect the organs of the deceased (see §2.1, text A1/1, comment a.).

b. Khaf adds the annotation , *nd-hr.n=j*²¹⁶ [*tw?*] *m sb(t)=k*, “After I greet [you?], you depart.” The lexicalized verbal root *nd* provides the folk etymology for the divine name *N.t*, reflecting contemporary pronunciation, vis-à-vis depalatization of *d* > *t*.

²¹⁵ The goddess wears her characteristic red crown.


²¹⁶ The *n*-infix of the *sdm.n=f* has been transposed (in error) with the substantive component of the compound verb *nd-hr*. For the use of \triangle as the first person, feminine suffix, see FARIMAN, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 247, nr. 207e, with additional discussion on *ibid.*, 290.

Text A6/2: Second row east, second figure.

S1	R6	R9	Sh3	Mt	Psusen.	Khaf
Crocodile	lost	Male ²¹⁷	Croc.	Croc.	Croc.	Croc. ²¹⁸
		omit				
<i>Hn[...]</i> ^a		?	<i>Hng-r3</i> , “Heneg-of-mouth.” ^b		<i>Hng-r3</i> ^c	

a. Given the parallel texts, *hng* seems the obvious restoration (see comment c., below). According to Frankfort’s hand copy, the lacuna offers sufficient space for g, but probably not *r3*, as found in Sh3, Mt, Psusennes, and Khaf. On the other hand, the deity’s crocodilian aspect might also suggest the relatively straightforward reading *hntj*, “crocodile,” restoring $\Delta \backslash$ in the damaged area. If this damage was present already by the Twenty-Second Dynasty, and if Sety’s text was copied directly, then *Hng-r3* might represent a later attempt to “fill in the blanks,” which diverged inadvertently from what might otherwise have been a transparent, original epithet.

b. A word *hng*, indicating an obscure “condition of the mouth,” occurs in the context of the Opening of the Mouth ceremony.²¹⁹ The term’s use with a crocodile-headed figure might suggest a connection with *hngg*, “gullet,” which is attested as a body-part term for that animal.²²⁰

c. Khaf adds the annotation ,²²¹ *hkk(=j)*²²² *hr* *hr(.t)* *h3.t=k*, “I shall swallow up²²³ that which is beneath your corpse.”²²⁴


²¹⁷ Unlike the other anthropoid, male figures in the R9 tableau, which all exhibit the typical red skin of an Egyptian male, this figure is shown with dark blue or black skin.

²¹⁸ The figure carries two knives.

²¹⁹ *Wb* III, 121.5–6; for the present figure, cf. LEITZ, *Lexikon*, vol. 5, 227 (“Der mit ...?... Maul”).






²²⁰ *Wb* III, 121.10–11; also see P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 658.

²²¹ DARESSY, *ASAE* 17 (1917), 7, nr. 12.

²²² As written, the signs do not correspond with any known verbal root (i.e., **hgg*). If the associated name *Hng-r3* is related to *hngg*, “gullet (of a crocodile),” then two likely outcomes arise for  both of which are characteristic of texts from the Greco-Roman

The verbal root *hqq* > *hqg* / *hkk*, “swallow,” supplies the folk etymology for the initial and final radicals of the obscure root *hng*, reflecting the neutralization of phonemes *q* / *k* / *g* and a perceived loss of medial *n*.²²⁵

Text A6/3: Second row east, third figure.

S1	R6	R9	Sh3	Mt	Psusen.	Khaf
Cat	<i>lost</i>	Female	Cat	Cat	Cat	Cat
		<i>omit</i>				
<i>Hwn(.t)</i> , “Kitten.” ^a		?	<i>Hwn.t</i>		<i>Hwn.t</i> ^b	

a. Literally, “young one,”²²⁶ rendered here as “kitten,” to reflect the goddess’s feline aspect.²²⁷ The designation *hwn.t wr.t*, “great maiden,” occurs as early as the Pyramid Texts, in conjunction with the destructive power of the sun²²⁸ and the city of Heliopolis,²²⁹ suggesting a connection with Tefnut who,²³⁰ together with her brother-consort Shu, is identified with the “double-lion” (*Rw.tj*) of that city.²³¹ In this regard, note that *Rw.tj*

era: *hqq*, designating an “activity of the mouth” (*Wb* III, 175.15) or *hkk*, “to swallow” (*Wb* III, 180.17), as followed here.

²²³ Literally “I shall swallow beneath,” presumably with the sense of a crocodile swimming up from below its prey, to catch it unawares.

²²⁴ Contra LEITZ, *Lexikon*, vol. 5, 227, who renders this group “*hng.i hrhrw=k*,” but offers no translation or additional explanation.

²²⁵ Apparently, the Ptolemaic scribes have interpreted the medial *n* of *hng* (an uncommon root, with which the scribes might not have been familiar) as unpronounced, perhaps on analogy with graphically similar but etymologically unrelated phonetic shifts, such as the loss of the old genitival particle in names of the *p(3)-n* type, realized as *πλ-* in Coptic (ČERNÝ and GROLL, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, 5–6, §1.8).

²²⁶ *Wb* III, 52–54.

²²⁷ Cf. the cat-headed figure of *Hwn.t* from the Book of the Day, in MÜLLER-ROTH, *Buch vom Tage*, 354, nr. 351.


²²⁸ PT §682c.

²²⁹ PT §2002a.









²³⁰ From the Greco-Roman Period, the epithet *Hwn.t* refers specifically to Tefnut, in the aspect of a young lion (*Wb* III, 54.2).

²³¹ M. HEERMA VAN VOSS, “Ruti,” in W. Helck and W. Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 5 (Wiesbaden, 1984), col. 321; for additional comments on the some-

himself appears in the first “eastern” row of present scene (text A5/3), while both Shu and Tefnut appear on the “western” side of the tableau (§2.1, texts A1/4 and A2/3, respectively).

b. Khaf adds the annotation ,²³² *hwn(=j) d.t=k r ʿ3 ph.tj=k*, “I shall rejuvenate your body, in order that your strength might become great.” The verb *hwn*, “be young; make young,” provides the simplex for the participle *hwn.t*, “young (female)” — a rare case of the Ptolemaic folk etymology actually hitting the mark! The annotation refers surely to the goddess’s assistance in the resurrection of Osiris. However, the final purpose clause *r ʿ3 ph.tj=k*, “in order that your strength might become great,” might conceal an additional layer of meaning. The phrase *ʿ3-ph.tj*, “Great of Strength,” is attested at Edfu as an epithet of Horus.²³³ Consequently, *r ʿ3 ph.tj=k* might also be interpreted as a pun, meaning, “in order that you might become Horus.” This reading would allude to the practical outcome of Osiris’s resurrection, vis-à-vis his post mortem conception of, and reincarnation as, the living son Horus, who, not coincidentally, shares center stage with his father in the Awakening tableau (see §2.3).

Text A6/4: Second row east, fourth figure.

S1	R6	R9	Sh3	Mt	Psusen.	Khaf
Jackal	 <i>lost</i>	Male	Jackal	Jackal	Jackal	Jackal ²³⁴
		<i>omit</i>	 	 		
<i>Jnpw</i> , Anubis. ^a		?	<i>Jnpw</i>		<i>Jnpw</i>	<i>Jnp(w)</i> ^b

a. Anubis forms a pair with the corresponding fourth divinity from the “eastern” row, which figure is similarly jackal-headed and bears the Anubis-related epithet Isedes (§2.1, text A2/4).





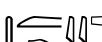
times ambiguous relationship between Shu/Tefnut and *Rw.tj*, et al., see ROBERSON, “Early History,” 435.



²³² DARESSY, *ASAÉ* 17 (1917), 7, 13°.

²³³ P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 362.

²³⁴ The god bears a uraeus on his brow and carries two knives.

*Text A7/1: Third row east, first figure.*²³⁷

S1	R6	Sh3	Mt	Psusen.	Khaf
<i>Unclear</i> ²³⁸	<i>lost</i>	Crocodile	Croc.	Male	Croc.
					
<i>Sm</i> [...]		<i>Smd.t</i> , “Wander- er.” ^a		<i>Smd</i>	<i>Smdy</i> ^b

b. Khaf adds the annotation  \rightarrow ,²³⁹ *smd.n(=j) hr=k r^c nb*,²⁴⁰ “Above you, daily, have I wandered.”²⁴¹ While the verbal root *smd*, “to

²³⁵ DARESSY, *ASAÉ* 17 (1917), 7, 14°.






²³⁷ As on the “western” side, Ramesses IX omits the third and fourth rows of smaller deities.


²³⁸ Possibly a crocodile. Only the left arm, lower torso and a small part of the wig are preserved. The extant remains of the figure's caption correlate with first two radicals of the later captions but it is possible that the figure, the caption, or both were re-interpreted in the later versions.

²³⁹ DARESSY, *ASAÉ* 17 (1917), 7, 15°.

wander,” clearly supplies the folk etymology for the names *Smd.t* / *Smd* / *Smdy*, it remains unclear whether the verb derives from the noun or the noun from the verb, as a participle. Citing this example, Wilson indicates that *smd* is “a late term, origin unknown.”²⁴² In light of the present examples, the root’s origins can be traced back at least as far as the Twenty-Second Dynasty, to the reign of Sheshonq III, if not all the way back to the damaged, Nineteenth Dynasty version of Sety I.

Text A7/2: Third row east, second figure.

S1	R6	Sh3	Mt	Psusen.	Khaf
<i>Unclear</i>	<i>lost</i>	Female	Female	Female	Female
					
<i>M3^c[.t], Maa[t].</i>		<i>M3^c.t</i>		<i>M3^c.t^a</i>	

a. Khaf adds the annotation ²⁴³ *sm3^c=k²⁴⁴ m wsh(.t)* *m3^c.ty*, “In the Hall of Two Truths, have you been praised.”

²⁴⁰ The animal tooth is attested in other Ptolemaic texts with the value *h*, via the consonantal principle from *hw* (see H. FAIRMAN, *ASAE* 43, (1943), 223, nr. 159; D. KURTH, *Einführung*, vol. 1, 224, 39, n. 124). For *r^c nb*, written with the discs of the sun and moon, in allusion to “the eternal and unending cycle of sun and moon, ‘every day’,” see P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 575–76.





²⁴¹ Alternately, read *smd(=j) m-hr=k r^c nb*, “I shall wander with you daily.”

²⁴² P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 850.

²⁴³ DARESSY, *ASAE* 17 (1917), 7, 10°.




²⁴⁴ For *sm3^c*, “to praise (a god),” see *Wb* IV, 125.17–18). The speaking man determinative argues against an interpretation of the root as *sm3^c*, “make right.” On the other hand, if we understand the speaking man as a logogram, then we might instead read *sm3^c-hrw=k*, “You have been justified (lit., made true-of-voice).” However, Ptolemaic texts usually write *hrw*, “voice,” with the *mdw*-staff in conjunction with the speaking man (cf. P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 745; CAUVILLE, *Dendara Index*, 432), for which reason the present translation prefers “praise,” as the avenue of least resistance.

Text A7/3: Third row east, third figure.






S1	R6	Sh3	Mt	Psusen.	Khaf
<i>Unclear</i>		Ram	Antelope	Ram	Antelope
<i>lost</i>	<i>lost</i>				
		^c <i>nn</i> ^c <i>b.wy</i> , ^a “He-who-averts the horns.”		^c <i>nn</i> ^c <i>b.wy</i>	^c <i>n</i> ^b ^c <i>b.wy</i> ^c

a. Spellings of the verb ^c*n* with reduplication of the final *n* occur from the Middle Kingdom and later.²⁴⁵

b. Khaf substitutes  for similarly shaped .²⁴⁶

c. Khaf adds the annotation    ²⁴⁷ *shn jw r=k*, “Let the one who is hostile toward you²⁴⁸ retreat.” Rather than a folk etymology, this annotation describes the apotropaic result of one horned creature “averting” or “turning back” the horns of another, namely an enemy who might oppose the deceased.²⁴⁹

Text A7/4: Third row east, fourth figure.

S1	R6	Sh3	Mt	Psusen.	Khaf
Male		Male	Male	Male	Male
	<i>lost</i>				
<i>Š(s)ry</i> (?), “He who speaks (?)” ^a		<i>Ššry</i> ^b	<i>Šsr</i>	<i>Šsry</i>	<i>Škrj</i> , “He who strikes (?)” ^c

²⁴⁵ *Wb* I, 188. Cf. LEITZ, *Lexikon*, vol. 2, 116.

²⁴⁶ For contemporary spellings of ^c*n*, “turn away, go back,” with the latter sign, see P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 154.







²⁴⁷ DARESSY, *ASAÉ* 17 (1917), 7, 16°.

²⁴⁸ Lit. “he-who-comes toward/against you” (for this idiom, see *Wb* I, 37.10).



²⁴⁹ Thus, also LEITZ, *Lexikon*, vol. 2, 116.

a. The reading suggested tentatively here follows Mt and Psusennes. However, there are many possible interpretations of this group, with little to recommend one over another. The final *hm*-club is particularly vexing in this regard, as it makes little sense as a determinative or as a separate logogram and might, in fact, serve merely as a hieroglyphic emblem for the anthropomorphic deity below.²⁵⁰

b. The spelling *Sšry*, found in Sh3, might represent an error of metathesis for *Ššry*, a deliberate perturbation of signs, or a different root altogether. As with version S1, there is little to recommend one reading over another.

c. Understanding the root *skr* as a variant of *sqr*, “to strike, hit.”²⁵¹ The present orthography might have arisen via substitution of  for  (one low, flat sign for another) in *Sšry*, as found in Sh3. By way of explanation, Khaf annotates    ,²⁵² *sk.n(=j) n=k r3=k d.t*, “Always, have I cleansed your mouth for you,” with the verbal complex *sk... r3*, “cleanse... the mouth,”²⁵³ supplying the folk etymology for the new name, *Skrj*.

Text A8/I: Fourth row east, first figure.

S1	R6	Sh3	Mt	Psusen.	Khaf
<i>lost</i>	<i>lost</i>	Female	<i>lost</i>	Female ²⁵⁴	<i>omit</i> ²⁵⁵
					
		<i>Nb.t-ḥw.t</i> , Nephthys. ^a		<i>Nb.t-ḥw.t</i> ^b	


a. Nephthys functions here as the counterpart of Isis, in the opposite, “west” register (§2.1, text A4/1). These two goddesses, together with Sel-

²⁵⁰ The *hm*-club rests directly atop the deity’s head.

²⁵¹ Similar spellings, substituting *k* for *q* are attested, albeit infrequently, in other Ptolemaic contexts (see P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 939, ex. 12).




²⁵² DARESSY, *ASAE* 17 (1917), 7, 17°.

²⁵³ Cf. the phrase *sk r3 jr.ty*, “clean the mouth and eyes,” which occurs at Edfu, among the list of rituals performed during the Opening of the Mouth ceremony (P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 941).





²⁵⁴ The goddess is crowned with the hieroglyphs that write her name, .

²⁵⁵ Although not depicted among the file of deities from the Awakening Tableau, in the second register, Nephthys does appear in a separate group of figures, in the register above (DARESSY, *ASAE* 17 (1917), 6, nr. 4, with Anubis).

get (§2.1, text A2/1) and Neith (above, text A6/1), who appear in the second register, serve as the tutelary deities of the canopic shrine, within which the four sons of Horus protect the organs of the deceased (§2.1, text A1/1, comment a.).


b. The uraeus acquires the value *nb.t* from its frequent use in the ideogram , depicting the tutelary deities of Upper and Lower Egypt as *nb.tj*, the “two ladies.” The arrow, , substitutes for the similarly shaped cow’s belly, , which sign, in conjunction with the *t*-loaf as a phonetic complement, writes *h(w).t*, as attested also at Edfu.²⁵⁶

Text A8/2: Fourth row east, second figure.

S1	R6	Sh3	Mt	Psusen.	Khaf.
<i>lost</i>	<i>lost</i>	Ibis	<i>lost</i>	Ibis	Ibis
					
				<i>H3bs</i>	<i>Rs wsr.t</i> , “He-who-watches the Powerful One.” ^b
		<i>H3bs</i> , Khabas. ^a			

a. Written with the flame determinative, this group designates a “lamp,”²⁵⁷ which unfortunately suggests no obvious connection to the ibis. However, the same root, when determined with a star, derives from the expression *h3 b3=s*, “A thousand are her *bas*,” in reference to the stars of the sky, which the ibis-headed god Thoth is said to count.²⁵⁸



b. The name of Khaf’s figure shows no obvious connection to the earlier *H3bs*.²⁵⁹ Nevertheless, the identification of *Rs wsr.t* with *H3bs* is supported by their shared ibis aspect and by the fact that both gods are followed im-

²⁵⁶ FAIRMAN, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 223, nr. 163c: , *hw.t-ntr*, exploiting the phonetic change *h* > *h* and the loss of the medial semi-vowel *w*.




²⁵⁷ *Wb* III, 230.3


²⁵⁸ P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 704; *Wb* III, 230.1.

²⁵⁹ Cf. the re-analyzed cat/lion figure in text A4/5, above; thus, also the serpent-headed figure in A8/4, below.

mediately by the human-headed personification of “darkness” (text A8/3, below). To the present caption, Khaf adds the annotation ,²⁶⁰ *rs(=j) hr d.t=k wsr ntr.w nb*, “I shall watch over²⁶¹ your body, so that every god might become strong.” The “gods” mentioned here refer probably to the personified limbs of Osiris.²⁶² In this regard, it is entirely possible that the plural spelling of *ntr.w* in the annotation represents a graphic variant of , *h^c.w-ntr*, “god’s limbs.”²⁶³ In the Greco-Roman Period, the latter term was associated specifically with the disarticulated limbs of Osiris, which were scattered throughout the nomes of Egypt.²⁶⁴

Text A8/3: Fourth row east, third figure.

S1	R6	Sh3	Mt	Psusen.	Khaf
		Male ²⁶⁵		Male	Male
lost	lost		lost		
		Kkw, “Darkness.”		Kkw ^a	

a. Khaf adds the annotation ,²⁶⁶ *kk.n hr=j sn(=j) r=k*, “My face has become dark,²⁶⁷ just so that I might resemble you.”²⁶⁸

²⁶⁰ DARESSY, *ASAE* 17 (1917), 7, 18°.

²⁶¹ For the idiom *rs hr*, “watch over,” said especially of Osiris and the king, see P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 591; *Wb* II, 450.10–11.

²⁶² The tradition of identifying the various limbs of the deceased with different gods dates back to the Pyramid Texts, e.g. PT 215, §§147b–149d: “You shall become completed as every god: Your head as Horus of the Duat... your face as Eyes-Forward... your ears Atum’s twins... your eyes Atum’s twins... your nose as the Jackal... your teeth Sopdu... your arms Hapi and Duamutef... your legs Imseti and Qebehsenuef... your limbs Atum’s twins” (translation after J. ALLEN, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, Writings from the Ancient World 23 (Atlanta, 2005), 32).






²⁶³ See P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 621.


²⁶⁴ *Wb* III, 39.1–4.

²⁶⁵ The figure is adorned with ram’s horns.


²⁶⁶ DARESSY, *ASAE* 17 (1917), 7, 19°.

















Text A8/4: Fourth row east, fourth figure.

S1	R6	Sh3	Mt	Psusen.	Khaf
		Serpent		Serpent	Serpent
					
<i>lost</i>	<i>lost</i>		<i>lost</i>		 (?) ²⁶⁹
		<i>Hr=f m h3h</i> , ^a “His face moves quickly.”		<i>Hr=f m h3h</i>	<i>Jsb.t jm(j) htp.wy</i> (?), “The throne ^b in which ^c are the two who rest (?).” ^d

a. Spellings of *h3h* without the medial aleph begin to appear from Dynasty 18 and later.²⁷⁰ For the spelling used here, cf. , attested at Edfu.²⁷¹ The caption refers presumably to the striking speed of the serpent.


b. Spellings of *jsb.t*, “throne,” with the house determinative are attested also in the Ptolemaic texts at Edfu.²⁷²

c. Reading  as a reverse nisbe.²⁷³

d. The epithet of Khaf’s only serpent-headed figure shows no obvious connection to the earlier name *Hr=f m h3h*.²⁷⁴ The figure has apparently been re-analyzed, for which cf. the cat/lion headed figures in Text A4/5 and the ibis-headed deity in text A8/2, comment b. To the present figure, Khaf adds the annotation                , *jsb.tw(=j) m h.t r sb(t)*, “I shall be

²⁶⁷ For the verb *kk(w)*, “be dark,” see *Wb* V, 144.7–11.

²⁶⁸ For the idiom *snj r*, “resemble” (lit., “go, with respect to”), see P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 853.

²⁶⁹ The transcription of  as questionable follows DARESSY, *ASAÉ* 17 (1917), 9, 6°.

²⁷⁰ *Wb* III, 233.

²⁷¹ P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 705.

²⁷² P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 110.

²⁷³ See K. JANSEN-WINKELN, “Nisbeadjektiv und Partizip,” *LingAeg* 3 (1993), 8–9.

²⁷⁴ But note the human-headed figure *Hr=f m sq.t*, “His face is as flame” (§2.1, text A4/4, above) who appears in the expected position of the serpent-deity, i.e. immediately after *Kkw*, “Darkness” (text A8/3, above), and whose caption obviously shares a similar syntactic structure with the missing epithet, *Hr=f m h3h*.






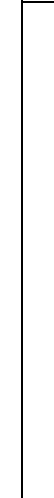

<*jsb*>²⁷⁵ with <flame?>²⁷⁶ in order to travel.” The obscure verb *jsb* obviously provides a folk etymology for *jsb.t*, “throne.” Beyond this, the annotation is obscure.

²⁷⁵ I am unaware of any root *jz**b* / *jsb* or *zb* / *sb* with a flame determinative. The presumable connection with fire, burning, or ignition relates perhaps to the well-known function of the *uraeus*-serpent as a fire-spitting guardian.

²⁷⁶ A guess, based upon the determinative. The word is, again, unknown.

§2.3 The standing figure of Horus


Text A9: Above Horus.

S1	R6	R9	Sh3	Mt	Psusen. ²⁷⁷	Khaf ²⁷⁸
						


S1, R9, and Sh3: Hrw N. $^a n\bar{d}^b = f^c jt = f^d Wsjr,^e$ “The Horus $N.$, he protects²⁷⁹ his father Osiris.”

²⁷⁷ MONTET et al., *Tombeau de Psousennès*, pl. 90, top; also note a second falcon-headed figure to the right, who is labeled simply as “Horus.” The translation of the present text differs in its grammatical analysis from that given in *ibid.*, 124. Additional, semi-cryptic parallels come from the head- and foot-ends of the sarcophagus of Psusennes, whereon each of two Horus-falcons, perched atop a *serekh*, is described as *nd* (𐩎𐩣) *jt=f Wsjr*, “he-who-protects his father Osiris,” (see *ibid.*, 113 and pl. 78).



278 DARESSY, *ASAÉ* 17 (1917), 6, 1°. A nearly identical caption occurs on the same sarcophagus, in conjunction with a panther-headed deity (ibid., 10, 21°), which is not found in the original Awakening tableau.

279 Not “avenges,” contra DRIOTON, *Kêmi* 12 (1952), 25. The usual sense of *nd*, as regards Horus and Osiris, is “to protect” or “rescue,” as deduced already by J.G. GRIFFITHS, “The meaning of  *nd* and *nd-hr*,” *JEA* 37 (1951), 32–37. The sense of “protect” seems to be preferred on the Ptolemaic sarcophagus of Khaf, which annotates the cap-

tion with the synonym *jrj sz*, “protect” (see comment i., below). The present translation follows Khaf, in this regard.

occurs first on the the re-used, royal sarcophagus of Merneptah/Psuseren. The Horus epithet has also been omitted there, while the king's birth name has migrated to the end of the inscription (see comment g., below), where Psuseren was equated apparently with "my (Horus's) father," i.e., Osiris.²⁸⁰ In addition, version Ps. includes a short caption, not found in the other parallels, which names the falcon-headed deity as , *M-hnt(j) ntr.w*, "Foremost of the gods."²⁸¹

b. The stooped female hieroglyph is interpreted usually as a woman grinding, from which action the alphabetic value *nd* was derived as a rebus.²⁸² This reading is supported by the Ptolemaic sarcophagus of Khaf, which writes *nd* unambiguously, with the conventional hieroglyphs.²⁸³ However, it is possible that a secondary level of meaning was encoded into the earlier cryptic texts, if we allow that the stooped, female figure might be interpreted more generally as "fashioning," in addition to "grinding" specifically.²⁸⁴ From the New Kingdom and later, a craftsman, especially a sculptor, could be described as *s'nh*, "one who gives life."²⁸⁵ This root describes precisely the action of the present vignette: Horus extends a *w3s*-scepter, adorned with an *'nh* hieroglyph, designating "life,"²⁸⁶ toward the nose of the awakened Osiris, thus "causing him to live."²⁸⁷

c. Substituting  for , one serpent for another,²⁸⁸ as attested already in the Judgment scene from the Book of Gates,²⁸⁹ the Book of Cav-

²⁸⁰ The equation of the deceased with Horus and/or Osiris is considered further in Ch. 4, §§4.3.2–3 below.

²⁸¹ LEITZ, *Lexikon*, vol. 3, 396. For the hieroglyphs, see MONTET et al., *Tombeau de Psousennès*, pl. 90, top.

²⁸² DRIOTON, *Kēmi* 12 (1952), 25, citing additional examples from Ptolemaic sources; DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 24, n. 48, citing additional examples from Dra Abu en-Naga and the Book of Gates; for the latter text, see also MANASSA, *RdÉ* 57 (2006), 112–15.

²⁸³ For the conventional *nd*-sign, see GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, 543, Aa27.

²⁸⁴ This possibility is evident most clearly in S1 and Mt, neither of which include the lump of dough found in R6 and R9 but which show instead the woman's hands working the stepped or hill-shaped structure of the grinding stone (?) itself.

²⁸⁵ *Wb* IV, 47.14–16.

²⁸⁶ In the version of Sety I (only), the *w3s*-scepter is adorned with both *'nh* and *dd* hieroglyphs.

²⁸⁷ Cf. thus, the designation of the awakened Osiris as *jty 'nh*, "living sovereign," on the annotations to the guardian uraei, in the version of Ramesses VI (§2.4, text A13).

²⁸⁸ Contra DRIOTON, *Kēmi* 12 (1952), 26, who interprets the rampant serpent as *j*, the first radical of the following group (*jt=f*, discussed below). Drioton's reading was based on analogy with the cobra as a logogram for *j'r.t*, which he supposes to become *j* through acrophony.

erns,²⁹⁰ and also later, in Ptolemaic Egyptian.²⁹¹ The same use of the rampant serpent occurs also in text A10, below.

d. Two readings are possible, depending on the interpretation of the baboon as either *t* or *j*. The former reading, suggested by Drioton, is based on the Ptolemaic value *d/d*, weakened here to *t*, by phonetic change.²⁹² This reading is plausible, if not well-attested.²⁹³ If correct, then the baboon alone writes (*j*)*t*, “father,” while the horned viper, normally that word’s determinative, serves here instead as the third person suffix =*f*.²⁹⁴ This reading is supported by the sarcophagus version of Psusennes and Khaf. However, the same signs also support an additional, plausible reading, which suggests that the cryptic text might encode more than one level of meaning (cf. comment b., above). By this interpretation, we interpret the walking baboon as *j*, the normal value for this variant in Ptolemaic Egyptian,²⁹⁵ followed by the viper for *f*, as a writing of *jf*, “flesh.” The full, alternate caption would therefore read “The Horus *N*, he rescues the flesh of Osiris.” In the seventh hour of the Amduat, the “Flesh of Osiris” appears as an enthroned deity,²⁹⁶ crowned with double plumes and carrying an *nh*-hieroglyph and *w3s*-scepter—all items with which Osiris is invested in the present tableau. We find additional support specifically linking Horus to the flesh of Osiris in the Book of the Dead, Chapter 170, “A Spell for raising Osiris on the Bier,” wherein Horus proclaims “O, Osiris, I have given to you your flesh, I have put together for you your bones, I have assembled


²⁸⁹ MANASSA, *RdÉ* 57 (2006), 112 (“substitution of kind”), and 134–35.

²⁹⁰ WERNING, “Aenigmatische Schreibungen,” 130, and 143, 114.

²⁹¹ D. KURTH, *Einführung*, vol. 1, 283, 23, n. 65.

²⁹² DRIOTON, *Kêmi* 12 (1952), 26. Note that Drioton does not distinguish between the seated and walking baboon hieroglyphs; in Ptolemaic Egyptian, it is the former sign that usually writes *d/d*, while the latter, “used much less frequently,” writes *j* (FAIRMAN, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 222–223, nrs. 154 and 156).

²⁹³ DRIOTON, *Kêmi* 12 (1952), 26, cites a single example from the Late Period. Also, note that Drioton’s explanation of the Ptolemaic value *d*, as derived by acrophony from *dḥwtj*, has been challenged convincingly by FAIRMAN, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 257–63, who suggests a plausible derivation by consonantal principle from *djw*, “five,” which number was associated with the ape since the First Dynasty.



²⁹⁴ Cf. the semi-cryptic spellings of *jt=f* as , et al., from the Book of Nut, in VON LIEVEN, *Grundriss*, vol. 1, 54, §18, n. 219.

²⁹⁵ FAIRMAN, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 223, nr. 156, as opposed to the seated variant, employed for both *j* and *d/d*, discussed above; the former value derives by rebus from *j*, a name of Thoth (ibid., 256–57).


²⁹⁶ See E. HORNUNG, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, 128, nr. 490; ibid., *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, *Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 14 (Genève, 1992), 536.

for you your members... Lift yourself, so that you might see the gods... Horus sets you upright at his rising.”²⁹⁷

e. More accurately, *(W)s(j)r*, omitting both weak radicals, as attested in in numerous non-cryptic parallels.²⁹⁸ The “flesh” hieroglyph in S1 substitutes for the egg found in R6, R9, and Mt, through similarity of shape.²⁹⁹ The egg itself substitutes, *pars pro toto*, for the *s3*-goose, becoming *s* through loss of the final weak aleph.³⁰⁰ The *r*, written non-cryptically in R6, appears as a grasshopper in S1, R9, and Mt. This value for the grasshopper sign is well attested in cryptographic texts from the New Kingdom and appears also in Ptolemaic Egyptian, although the mechanism for the substitution remains unknown.³⁰¹ The feather employed in Sh3 surely represents a substitution of similar shapes, whether deliberate or accidental, for the egg/flesh and grasshopper placed side-by-side, as in S1 and R9.


f. This final epithet, present only in the version of Ramesses VI, substitutes  for  through similarity of shape.³⁰²

g. Direct representation of a calf’s head and nose, plus determinative stroke.³⁰³

h. The king’s birth name, plus epithet: 

(*P3-sb3-ḥ^c-n-njw.t mrj Jmn*), “(Psusennes, beloved of Amun).”



²⁹⁷ Translation after T.G. ALLEN, *Book of the Dead*, 177–78.

²⁹⁸ *Wb* I, 359, indicates that the spelling  (as in R6, above) occurs from the Middle Kingdom and later; for cryptic use, see WERNING, “Aenigmatische Schreibungen,” 131; for other New Kingdom examples, see ROBERSON, *Books of the Earth*, 281 and 328, n. 153, with additional references.


²⁹⁹ As attested in other spellings of the god’s name already in the Coffin Texts (cf. R. VAN DER MOLEN, *Dictionary of the Coffin Texts*, 101); for NK use, see also WERNING, “Aenigmatische Schreibungen,” 141, F51B.

³⁰⁰ See GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, 474, nr. 8; FAIRMAN, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 271, §49; and idem, *BIFAO* 43 (1945), 90–92; WERNING, “Aenigmatische Schreibungen,” 143, H8.

³⁰¹ See DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 108–110; WERNING, “Aenigmatische Schreibungen,” 144, L4.

³⁰² Contra DRIOTON, *Kémi* 12 (1952), 26–27, who inexplicably marginalizes this simple and straightforward solution as “not impossible,” in favor of *m3^c-ḥrw*, for which he assigns the values *m* to the *nṯr* fetish (from ) and ^c to the determinative stroke (from ) through a tortuous and arbitrary process of acrophony.

³⁰³ For this spelling, see *Wb* I, 577. For the nose of Osiris, see references in WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 389 (*ḥnd.f^cnh*).

i. Khaf adds the annotation , $jw.n(=j) hr=k jr=j s3=k$, “The reason I have come before you is so that I might protect you.”³⁰⁴ The compound construction $jrj s3$, literally “make/do protection,”³⁰⁵ offers a synonym for the potentially ambiguous root nd , indicating clearly the Ptolemaic author’s interpretation of the latter word.



Text A10: Between Horus and the shrine of Osiris (Sety I only).

This short, cryptographic text describes the action of Horus, who is shown using a $w3s$ -scepter to elevate the hieroglyphs for ‘life’ and ‘stability’ toward the nose of Osiris.



$3w=f^a w3s n^b ntr^c [c3]^d$

“It is on behalf of the [great] god that he extends $w3s$ -scepter.”^e

- a. Substituting  for , one serpent for another.³⁰⁶
- b. A common value in both cryptic and non-cryptic texts, derived by consonantal principle from $n(.t)$, “red crown.”³⁰⁷
- c. Direct representation of a divine falcon.³⁰⁸
- d. Frankfort’s hand copy shows a short vertical stroke parallel to a longer vertical stroke in the damaged area, which would seem to support the restoration suggested here: a determinative stroke, followed by the $c3$ -column.
- e. Either an emphatic construction, as translated above, or else a clause of circumstance qualifying the preceding Text A9, i.e. The Horus so-and-so, he protects his father Osiris, “when he extends the $w3s$ -scepter on the great god’s behalf.”

³⁰⁴ DARESSY, *ASAÉ* 17 (1917), 6, 1°.

³⁰⁵ See *Wb* III, 415.6–10; P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 782–83.


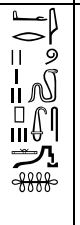


³⁰⁶ See text A9, comment c.

³⁰⁷ DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 41, a, nn. 21–22.

³⁰⁸ Cf. the falcon + standard that writes ntr in §3.4, Text T13, comment a. Similar cryptic examples occur, e.g., in the tomb of Ramesses IX (see DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, pl. 35, 1 and 4, various with flagella, with and without standards) and eventually become a regular feature of the Ptolemaic script (see P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 557–58; S. CAUVILLE, *Dendara Index*, 290).

§2.4 Guardian uraei atop the shrine of Osiris





Text A11: Above the western uraei.

S1	R6	Sh3	Mt
			

j^cr.wt stp.wt-s3,^a “Uraei guardians.”³⁰⁹

a. Only R6 includes the expected plural strokes with *stp*.

Text A12: Above the eastern uraei.

S1	R6	Sh3	Mt
			

j^cr.wt stp.wt-s3, “Uraei guardians.”

³⁰⁹ For the protective aspect of the fire-spitting uraeus, see K. MARTIN, “Uräus,” in W. Helck and W. Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 6 (Wiesbaden, 1986), cols. 864–68; RITNER, *Magical Practice*, 224, n. 1042. For the apotropaic use of clay uraei by living Egyptians, explained plausibly as a protective mechanism against malicious spiritual influences that manifest in the form of nightmares, see also K. SZPAKOWSKA, “Playing with Fire: Initial Observations on the Religious Uses of Clay Cobras from Amarna,” *JARCE* 40 (2003), 113–22, who notes briefly (*ibid.*, 121) that the apotropaic use of clay uraei finds numerous iconographic and textual parallels in mortuary and cosmological literature.

Text A13: Above the central group of uraei.

S1	
R6	
Sh3	
Mt	

S1, Sh3, and Mt: *j^cr.wt stp.wt-s3*, “Uraei guardians.”^a

R6: *jcr.wt stp.w(t)-s3 n.w jty nh*, “Uraei guardians of the living sovereign.”

a. Version Sh3 writes the caption twice, in symmetrical opposition, such that the two groups of hieroglyphs face outward, in the same direction as the opposing groups of uraei beneath them.

§2.5 The awakened Osiris

Text A14: Behind the shrine of Osiris (Ramesses VI only).



*nb t3.wj (Nb-(m3^c.t)-R^c mrj Jmn)|^a nb h^c.w (R^c-ms-s(w) Jmn-hr-
hps=f ntr hq3 Jwnw)|^b pw m3^c-hrw*

“Lord of the Two Lands (Nebmaatre, beloved of Amun), Lord of Appearances, this (Ramesses Amunherkhepeshef, god and ruler of Heliopolis), justified.”

a. The king’s throne name, plus epithet: (𓂏𓅓𓏏𓏏), omitting the expected *m3^c.t* element. For a similar, abbreviated spelling, see §3.5, text T18, comment i.

b. The king’s birth name, plus epithet: (𓂏𓅓𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏).

Text A15: Speech of Osiris, above the god’s shrine.³¹⁰

The orientation of this text, its placement directly above the Osirian shrine, and the content of the speech itself indicate that it is the awakened god who speaks, identifying himself both with the deceased and the sun god, Re. An attempted decipherment of this text, based upon sign readings derived almost entirely via acrophony, appears in Drioton’s treatment of the awakening scene in the tomb of Sheshonq III.³¹¹ In some cases, extant parallels from contemporary and later sources support Drioton’s readings of certain groups (e.g., col. 1: *dd mdw j st3.w*), although his acrophonic explanations for those readings can almost always be explained through simpler means.³¹² In most cases, Drioton’s readings have been discarded, whether due to grammatical impossibility, incongruity with the scene itself, or implausibility of the proposed reading by acrophony, as indicated in the comments below.

³¹⁰ Text omitted in the version of Ramesses IX; the presence of yellow guidelines above the shrine suggests that a row of text was intended in this position but never executed.

³¹¹ DRIOTON, *Kêmi* 12 (1952), 27–33; Drioton’s reading of the second half of the text reappears later, with minor modifications, in L. MORENZ, *Sinn und Spiel*, 148–49.

³¹² For the derivation of most of these values, see FAIRMAN, *ASAÉ* 43 (1943), 249–310; idem, *BIFAO* 43 (1945), 56–68, and 80–138.

“Recitation:

O, you who tow!

I have caused


that *N.* withdraw on my behalf,

S1 & R6 (only): after he emerged as the one who is in the disc.


I am protected,

so that I might become exalted in the disc eternally,

and so that I might shine on his behalf, (namely) Re.”

a. The rampant serpent substitutes for the *d*-cobra, one serpent for another.³¹³ The abbreviated spelling of *d(d)* reflects the loss of final *d* in pronunciation,³¹⁴ as in the abbreviated spelling , attested frequently in non-cryptic religious texts.³¹⁵ The *md*-club has been written three times, as an archaic indication of the plural *md.w*, “words.”



b. Logographic spelling of the vocative particle, by direct representation of a “reciting” man.³¹⁶

c. The door bolt and cord, , employed normally as a determinative for the verb *st3*, “tow,” serves here as a cryptic logogram, written thrice as an indication of the plural participle.³¹⁷ The designation of “ones who tow” refers to the beings who drag the solar barque through the underworld and sky and who are represented usually as either falcon-headed gods or human-headed *ba*-birds.³¹⁸ In the present context, the term refers most proba-

³¹³ See DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 45 and n. 39; WERNING, “Aenigmatische Schreibungen,” 143, I14.

³¹⁴ Cf. Coptic $\alpha\epsilon\mu\tau\alpha\gamma$, “to recite magic,” from old *d(d)* *mdw* (see RITNER, *Magical Practice*, 41).

³¹⁵ GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, §306.1.

³¹⁶ See GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, 445, A26. The interchange of the reciting man with the reed leaf, for alphabetic *j*, can be traced back as far as the Old Kingdom, although similar spellings of the vocative particle remain uncommon until after the Middle Kingdom (see H.G. FISCHER, “An Old Kingdom Example of  for Terminal .

³¹⁷ DRIOTON, *Kémi* 12 (1952), 27. For the sign, see GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, 521–22, V2–V3.

³¹⁸ LEITZ, *Lexikon*, vol. 6, 698. In the Books of the Earth, the towing *ba*-birds are described often as *nnj*, “weary” (five examples in ROBERSON, *Books of the Earth*, R6.B.1.51.47, 11–12; R6.B.1.51.48, 1; O.A.1.51.2, 5; R6.B.2.20.55, 11–14; and R6.B.2.20.55, 18–20).

bly to the mixed group of thirty-six small deities that flank the Awakening scene, as the only plurality of beings in the lower register.

d. Throughout the present text, the first person pronouns are indicated through the use of standing male figures who point directly at themselves.³¹⁹ In this case, the figure clasps his hands above his heart, the seat of identity for the ancient Egyptians. As a direct representation of “I, me, mine,” we might read such a figure as a plausible logogram for the entire series of first person pronouns (i.e. *jnk*, *wj*, =*j*), as required by grammatical context.³²⁰ Regarding the present group, Drioton recognized that the sign might express the independent pronoun *jnk*,³²¹ but rejected that reading here on the basis of an improbable interpretation by acrophony, as *r*.³²² For our part, we must discard the otherwise plausible value *jnk*, as the expected emphasizing construction (*jnk* + participle *dd*) is not evident from the signs that follow. Rather, we find the dependent pronoun *wj* in initial position, as an example of the so-called *sw sdm=f*,³²³ a construction that remained poorly understood and little known at the time of Drioton’s study. Unfortunately, the conventional designation “*sw sdm=f*” is rather misleading, as examples with all varieties of predicate, including the *sdm.n=f*, as here, are

in contrast to the *j.ḥm.w wrd ḥr st3 n R*, “unwearying stars (lit. “ones ignorant of being tired”), towing on Re’s behalf” (ibid., Dj.2.6.4, and p. 115, n. 109); the latter stellar beings are contrasted usually against the *j.ḥm sk*, or circumpolar stars (*Wb* I, 125.15–16, 337.10) and can therefore serve also as a designation for the decan star groups (H. BEINLICH, “Stern,” in W. Helck W. Westendorf, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 6 (Wiesbaden, 1986), cols. 12–13); if such an association was implied in the present text, it might lend additional support to the identification of the minor gods with the decans, as proposed originally in WAITKUS, *GM* 99 (1987), 68–69 and n. 102 (see below, Ch. 4, §4.3.1).

³¹⁹ Cf. the wide variety of ideograms employed for the first person suffix in FAIRMAN, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 206–17.

³²⁰ Cf. L. MORENZ, *Sinn und Spiel*, 93, L, 149, and 232, who interprets such figures as writings of the independent pronoun *jnk*, as a supposed rebus (plus phonetic shift) from *jnq*, “umfassen (embrace, clasp)” (*Wb* I, 100–101), as suggestion already in DRIOTON, *Kēmi* 12 (1952), 28, A.



³²¹ For this derivation, see below, comment I.

³²² DRIOTON, *Kēmi* 12 (1952), 28, A, reading this sign plus the following (see comment e.) as *rdy*. He draws support for this reading from a later group (see comments r–s.), where the figure’s value as *r* was said to be “ne peut pas faire de doute,” with the curious caveat “bien qu’on n’en voie pas la raison.” Indeed, upon consulting his analysis of the supposedly unimpeachable group (p. 32, E), we find that the sign’s value there must be derived “par contexte, mais il est impossible d’en apercevoir la raison.” One need hardly add that this “explanation” does not constitute proof “beyond doubt.”

³²³ See W. BARTA, “Das Personalpronomen der *wj*-Reihe als Proklitikon im adverbialen Nominalsatz,” *ZÄS* 112 (1985), 94–104; with important caveats in K. JANSEN-WINKELN, “Sprachliche Bemerkungen zu den ‘Unterweltbüchern,’” *SAK* 32 (2004), 219–22.

attested. For this reason, the present study prefers the more neutral term “Middle Egyptian Proclitic Pronoun Construction.”³²⁴ This construction is particularly characteristic of the cosmological genre to which the Awakening Scene belongs (i.e. Books of the Underworld and Sky), with numerous examples in the third person attested in other cryptographic texts.³²⁵ Examples utilizing the first person singular are relatively rare, with only two, questionable examples from the Book of Caverns, plus two examples from the earlier corpus of Coffin Texts.³²⁶ The present and following example (comment 1., below) should now be added to that list.

e. Version R6 writes this group in standard, non-cryptic hieroglyphs, supporting the reading *dj.n* for the various arms (substitution of kind) + red crown (consonantal value, from *n.t*) in the parallel sources.³²⁷ The omission of the first person suffix is a deliberate archaism, hearkening back to Old Egyptian.³²⁸

f. The sky hieroglyph , which writes the initial radical of *nḥm* in version Mt, substitutes for non-cryptic . The former sign represents both a substitution based on similarity of shape (i.e., low & flat / horizontal

³²⁴ See J. ROBERSON, “Observations on the so-called ‘*sw sdm=f*’, or Middle Egyptian Proclitic Pronoun Construction,” in Z. Hawass and J. Wegner (eds.), *Millions of Jubilees. Studies in Honor of David P. Silverman*, vol. 2 (Cairo, 2010), 185–205.

³²⁵ Several examples in the third person occur already on the second gilded shrine of Tutankhamun, in DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 41 (e) and 48, n. 65 (pl. 4A), 81 (pl. 7A), 87 (pl. 7B), 104 (pl. 9A), 123, (pl. 10B), 141 (pl. 13A), 146 (pl. 13B); thus also from the tomb of Ramesses VI, in *ibid.*, 176 and 186 (pl. 21), 203 (pl. 23), 211 (pls. 24–25A), and 224 (pl. 27). A probable, additional cryptic example (unfortunately damaged) occurs also in the cenotaph of Sety I, for which see ROBERSON, *Books of the Earth*, 307, Text 5, col. 4.







³²⁶ For the Coffin Texts, see discussion in ROBERSON, “Observations,” 188 (CT II, 37e–38a, and VII, 495g–k). For the Book of Caverns examples, see A. PIANKOFF, “Le livre des Quererts. Seconde division,” *BIFAO* 42 (1944), pl. 13, 4, and pl. 19, 7, with discussion in BARTA, *ZÄS* 112 (1985), 97. The reading of the Caverns examples remains problematic, due to lacunae and parallel variants, which write more standard constructions (*ibid.*; ROBERSON, “Observations,” 190), as preferred in the most recent treatment of WERNING, *Höhlenbuch*, vol. 2, 54 (47) and 78 (50).

³²⁷ Both of these substitutions occur in cryptic as well as non-cryptic texts (see GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, 504, nr. S3, and 454, nrs. D36, 37, 39; and DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 41, nn. 21–22; *ibid.*, 126, n. 403).

³²⁸ See EDEL, *Altägyptischen Grammatik*, vol. 1, 70–71, §§159–60; J. ALLEN, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts* (Malibu, 1984), 12, §19. For archaizing omissions of the first person suffix in other Underworld Books, see A. BAUMANN, *The Suffix Conjugation of Early Egyptian as Evidenced in the Underworld Books* (Ph.D. dissertation in Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, University of Chicago, 1998), 139–40, 143–44.

signs) and a substitution of kind (i.e. ‘water’ signs).³²⁹ Although unusual, the value is nevertheless certain, as all three parallel texts demonstrate. The next sign, a kneeling man with both arms upraised, is well attested in Ptolemaic Egyptian as a writing of alphabetic *h*, derived by consonantal principle from the logogram for *hh*, “million.”³³⁰ The final radical *m* is written normally in all versions, with the terminal arm signs serving as determinatives in place of the more usual ‘striking’ arm.


g. The red crown writes *n*, as discussed above (comment e.). The man pointing to his face/mouth serves as a direct representation of the first person suffix in a dative construction, i.e. “for me.” Compare the use of a standing figure clutching his chest for dependent *wj*, discussed above (comment d.).





h. The sign , which precedes the royal titulary in S1, serves as a phonetic complement to the following royal title *njsw.t bj.tj*, “Dual King.”³³¹ Support for this interpretation comes from Sh3, which drops the (omissible) complement before *njsw.t*, and the private version Mt, which obviously does not include the royal title and therefore also omits its complement. In R6, the group  might also represent the phonetic complement, reduplicated either through dittographic error or cryptic exploitation of contemporary Late Egyptian orthography.³³² However, such an interpretation results in the loss of the *bj.tj* title. To preserve the expected elements of the R6 titulary, we interpret the second  as the phonetic complement to *njsw.t*, as seen already in S1, while the first  substitutes for , as *bj.tj*, which has been transposed to the front of the group for graphic reasons, as an example of cryptic perturbation. Alternately, Drioton proposed to read  in R6 as the dative preposition *n* followed by the white crown,

³²⁹ For the Egyptians’ identification of the sky as a region of water, see J. ALLEN, “The Cosmology of the Pyramid Texts,” in W.K. Simpson (ed.), *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt*, Yale Egyptological Studies 3 (New Haven, 1989), 7–16; for the hieroglyph specifically, see *ibid.*, 11.


³³⁰ FAIRMAN, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 204, nrs. 7–14. One of several examples of a monoconsonantal value derived from an originally bi-literal sign of “two identical consonants... in direct juxtaposition” such that, “for the purposes of writing they are considered to be one and not two” (*ibid.*, 296).


³³¹ Only the relevant, initial portion of the royal titularies have been transcribed in the synoptic transcription, above. For reasons of space, the full names and titles are given in the commentary, below.


³³² For the latter possibility, see DRIOTON, *Kēmi* 12 (1952), 29, noting possible influence of the Late Egyptian script, which frequently writes  for *n* at the end of words (ČERNÝ and GROLL, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, 5, §1.7).


for *njsw.t*.³³³ To support his reading of R6, *Drioton intentionally transcribes the Sh3 parallel backward*, as ³³⁴ However, the most damning evidence against Drioton's reading is the previously mentioned omission of any of these signs from the private version of Mutirdis, which was unknown at the time of Drioton's study.³³⁵ Given these considerations, the path of relatively least resistance is to view  (S1),  (R6), and  (Sh3) as variant spellings *njsw.t bj.tj*.

Thus, the full names and titles preserved in the various sources include:

S1: , *njsw.t bj.tj Mn-m3^c.t[-R^c]*, “Dual King, Menmaat[re].”³³⁶

R6: , *njsw.t bj.tj Nb-m3^c.t-R^c mrj Jmn*, “Dual King, Nebmaatre, beloved of Amun.”

Sh3: , *njsw.t bj.tj Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c Ššn[q] mrj Jmn s3 B3st.t*³³⁷ *ntr hq3 [Jwnw]*,³³⁸ “Dual King, Usermaatre Sheshon[q], beloved of Amun, Son of Bastet, god and ruler of [Heliopolis].”

Mt: , *hrj(.t)-šms.w(t) 3.t n(.t) dw3(y).t-ntr Mw.t-jr-dj=s*, “Great chief of followers of the divine adoratrice, Mutirdis.”

i. Direct representation of a snake literally “emerging” from a cave. This orthography, which is exceedingly rare prior to the Ptolemaic Period,³³⁹ occurs already on a private stela of Paser the Elder (Louvre C65) from Dynasty 18.³⁴⁰ The following, non-cryptic quail chick writes the stative

³³³ DRIOTON, *Kêmi* 12 (1952), 27, n. 2, 28–29, C–D.

³³⁴ DRIOTON, *Kêmi* 12 (1952), 28–29, C, n. 1. Drioton attempts to cover his tracks by suggesting that the *red* crown was reversed to face the *white*, despite the fact that Sheshonq's text was oriented very obviously to face the right. Thus, the only possible reversal is the white crown, as transcribed in the present study (cf. Montet's original drawing, reproduced in pl. 4, below).

³³⁵ It is interesting to note that Drioton's mistake re-surfaces in L. MORENZ, *Sinn und Spiel*, 148. Unlike Dr. Drioton, Morenz is aware the existence of the Mutirdis parallel (*ibid.*, p. 147), although he apparently fails to recognize its significance for the correct reading of the present text.



³³⁶ For the undamaged cryptic spelling of the king's throne name, see Ch. 3, §3.6, text T21, comment 1.












³³⁷ The identity of the deity seated and crowned with a disc is difficult to determine with certainty from Montet's drawing. The interpretation here, as Bastet, follows examples in M.-A. BONHÊME, *Les noms royaux dans l'Égypte de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire* (Cairo, 1987), 122.

³³⁸ For this last epithet, see BONHÊME, *Noms royaux*, 104, B.


³³⁹ Many examples and variants in P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 356–57; and S. CAUVILLE, *Dendara Index*, 178–81.


³⁴⁰ D. KURTH, *Einführung*, vol. 1, 15, n. 2.

ending =w. The intestine hieroglyph  in R6 substitutes for , based on similarity of shape.³⁴¹


j. The sign in S1 is damaged. The traces in Frankfort's drawing show only a damaged, left-facing, "c-shaped" outline, , not  as Drioton claims.³⁴² I have interpreted the damaged sign as  with the attested cryptic value *m*,³⁴³ one of several prepositions likely to follow the verb *prj*.³⁴⁴ However, it is also possible that the damaged sign might represent , 'q, "enter," which is also attested later, in Ptolemaic Egyptian, and which occurs frequently in conjunction with , for *prj* (comment i.), as its semantic opposite, especially as regards "entering" and "exiting" the realm of the dead.³⁴⁵ However, the strongest argument against the latter hypothesis lies with the book-roll, , that appears in place of  in R6. There is no simple explanation or attested parallel to account for a hypothetical interchange * > . However, the book roll does occur in other cryptic contexts with the value *n*, as a substitution of shape for  (one low, flat sign for another).³⁴⁶ The instability of the nasal consonants *n* and *m* is a well known feature of the Egyptian language, particularly from the New Kingdom and later.³⁴⁷ As but one example of this instability, we cite the attested cryptic use of  itself for both *m* and *n*.³⁴⁸ The

³⁴¹ Contra DRIOTON, *Kêmi* 12 (1952), 28–29, F, who reads both signs by way of acrophony, taking the emerging snake in S1 and intestine sign in R6 as *p* (acrophony, from *prj* and *phr*, respectively), plus the following quail chick, as a writing the demonstrative *pw*.

³⁴² DRIOTON, *Kêmi* 12 (1952), 28–29, G, who reads the supposed intestine hieroglyph in this case (cf. previous note) as *m3^c*, through a tortuous process of acrophony: Reducing *jmy-ht* (a randomly chosen word for "intestines," which, incidentally, is *not* determined with ; see *Wb* I, 75.8), to alphabetic *m*, Drioton then arbitrarily appends an *aleph* and *ayin* (the former from thin air, the latter from the disc in the following sign group), thereby manufacturing his preferred root.

³⁴³ Substitution of shape, for ; the two signs are mutually interchangeable in New Kingdom cryptography, i.e. *l* for *m* and *m* for *l*, with numerous examples of each (see MANASSA, "Appendix of Cryptographic Sign Values," in DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 614 and 617; *ibid.*, *RdÉ* 57 (2006), 112 ("Substitution of shape"), and 128).



³⁴⁴ See *Wb* I, 518–24.

³⁴⁵ *Wb* I, 231.23–232.1; see H. GOEDICKE, "The Egyptian Idea of Passing from Life to Death (an Interpretation)," *Orientalia* 24 (1955), 225–39. If the verb 'q was intended here, then the following sign , interpreted otherwise as *jmj-jtn* (see comment k.) might substitute instead for the w-quail chick, as a stative ending, in parallel to the preceding *pr=w*.

³⁴⁶ DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 202, 1. 23, and 203, 1. 41.


³⁴⁷ See ČERNÝ and GROLL, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, 4–5, §1.7, and 92, §7.1.1.a.i; and JUNGE, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, 37.




³⁴⁸ DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 202, n. 159.

convergence of these various graphemes and phonemes in the present example, whether through error or deliberate manipulation on the part of the ancient cryptographer, argues for the reading of both  (S1) and  (R6) as the preposition *m*, in this context.

k. Direct representation of a duckling “inside” a disc.³⁴⁹ The epithet *jmj-jtn* can refer to a number of deities, including Horus, the moon god *J^{ch}*, and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris.³⁵⁰ However, In the present context, the “one who is in the disc” refers most probably to “the nocturnal form of the sun, traversing the night... to be reborn out of the disk in the morning.”³⁵¹ In addition, a secondary, thematic layer of meaning may be reflected in the use of the duckling, whose confinement within the disc might also allude to the original conception of the *jtn* as the primeval egg, “which houses the nascent deity prior to his emergence each morning.”³⁵² Thus, Osiris proclaims the emergence of the deceased—identical, of course, with the awakened god himself—as equivalent with the emergence of the reborn sun.

l. Direct representation of the first person dependent pronoun employed at the head of a “Middle Egyptian proclitic pronoun construction,” as discussed in comment d., above.

m. The stooped female figure conveys surely the same notion here as in the caption labeling Horus (§2.3, Text A9, comment b.). As in that text, the figure probably represents an ideographic rebus for *nd*, “protect.” The following bread loaf in a cup writes alphabetic *t*, as a substitution of kind for the round loaf ,³⁵³ plus the dual strokes for alphabetic *j* / *y*, as an archa-

³⁴⁹ For the “one who is in the disc,” cf. the late writing of Amun as , derived from that god’s epithet as *jmj-jtn*, cited in DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 55, n. 96. Contra DRIOTON, *Kémi* 12 (1952), 28–30, G, who reads the same sign as a sportive writing of an *ayin* (which he attaches to the preceding word, see comment j.) plus *hrw*, “voice,” explained as “un ^e () avec (*hr*) un *w* ().” The present study rejects Drioton’s hypothesis, on the grounds that the alleged use of a compound sign to write both the final radical of one word and the entire, trilateral root of a following word, runs counter to the basic principles of word division in the Hieroglyphic script.

³⁵⁰ LEITZ, *Lexikon*, vol. 1, 228–29.

³⁵¹ DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 55.

³⁵² O. GOLDWASSER, “*’Itn* — the “Golden Egg” (CT IV 292b–c [B9C*]),” in J. van Dijk (ed.), *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Herman Te Velde* (Groningen, 1997), 83. Cf. the “sportive” orthography of *jmj*, depicting a duckling that flaps inside an egg-shaped, dashed oval (*Wb* I, 75.22).

³⁵³ A well attested cryptic substitution; cf. DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, pl. 1, A, D, and E.


izing spelling of the passive infix *tw* / *tj*.³⁵⁴ The man with hands clasped at the chest serves as a direct representation of the first person, as above (comments d. and l.), but functioning here as the suffix pronoun, rather than its dependent pronoun counterpart.³⁵⁵ These readings are supported contextually, insofar as the speech of Osiris mirrors the caption labeling Horus. The latter states, in the third person, that Horus protects his father Osiris, while the former declares, in the first person, “I am protected.”³⁵⁶

n. Direct representation of an aged man, serving here as an ideogram for *wr*, “be(come) great” etc.³⁵⁷ The figure with hands clasped at the breast serves as a direct representation of the first person, for which cf. d., l., and m., above. Both R6 and Mt omit the first person suffix, as a deliberate archaism (see comment e.). The adjective verb + suffix is employed here in the subjunctive (prospective), expressing a clause of purpose.³⁵⁸

o. The locative preposition is expressed only in R6, which substitutes the duckling for the *m*-owl, one bird for another.³⁵⁹ All other versions leave

³⁵⁴ The archaizing form *tj* is, admittedly, unexpected; the Underworld Books generally write the passive infix either as *t* alone or as *tw* (BAUMANN, *Suffix Conjugation*, 402–36); no other “Old Egyptian-isms” occur in the present text.

³⁵⁵ Cf. DRIOTON, *Kēmi* 12 (1952), 31; and L. MORENZ, *Sinn und Spiel*, 149, who both interpret the man with clasped hands as the independent pronoun *jnk* + a following adjectival predicate *wr*. Drioton’s explanation is, in itself, plausible orthographically and grammatically but only makes sense in the broader context of his otherwise deeply flawed translation. For the following word *wr*, interpreted in the present study as the adjective verb in a prospective clause of purpose, see comment n.

³⁵⁶ In this regard, note that the reading of  plus variants, as *jnk nd (j)t=j*, “I am the avenger of my father,” proposed in DRIOTON, *Kēmi* 12 (1952), 30–31, poses no problems from the perspective of sign values or grammar but must still be discarded on the basis of context. The definitive argument against Drioton’s interpretation lies in the fact that *the text is not spoken by Horus*, but by Osiris. This is indicated by the fact that the text appears above the Osirian shrine, not above Horus, and the fact that all versions of the inscription above the shrine are oriented in the same direction as Osiris himself. By comparison, the captions that actually do label Horus (§2.3) appear directly above or in front of that god and are oriented in the same direction as he.






³⁵⁷ The “senile” man is the usual determinative for this and other adjective-verbs of aging and growth (see GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, 444, A19). For the nuance “exalted,” said especially of royal things, see *Wb* I, 327.12.





³⁵⁸ GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, §143; E. DORET, *The Narrative Verbal System of Old and Middle Egyptian* (Genève, 1986), 34, n. 252. For subjunctive/prospective use of adjective verbs in the Underworld Books, see also A. BAUMANN, *Suffix Conjugation*, 360.

³⁵⁹ Contra DRIOTON, *Kēmi* 12 (1952), 31, the inclusion of the duckling in R6 and the corresponding omission of the preceding human figure with clasped hands (comment n.) does not require that the former sign be equivalent to the latter, as a supposed participle *d(y)*, “one who gives” (and notwithstanding the fact that the preferred form of the imperfective would be *dd*, as opposed to *dy*). The version of Mutirdis, which remained unpublished at the time of Drioton’s study, disproves his reading through omission of *both*

m unexpressed, reflecting presumably the increased tendency for such omissions in the contemporary, spoken language.³⁶⁰

p. Direct representation of a disc, for the solar *jtn*.³⁶¹

q. The red crown writes the preposition *n* (see comment e., above) in all versions except R6, which employs the conventional water sign. The first radical of the following word *d.t* employs the tongue, , for the similarly shaped *d*-cobra,  in S1, R6, and Sh3, while Mt employs the latter, non-cryptic sign. The gender marker is indicated with  (S1, R6) or  (Sh3, Mt) in place of ,³⁶² where *t3* > *t*, via the consonantal principle.

r. Version Sh3 writes bi-literal *h3* with the standard hieroglyph depicting a clump of three papyrus blossoms, . Version Mt replaces that sign with an herb with three blossoms, , a cryptic value attested already on the second gilded shrine of Tutankhamun.³⁶³ These readings allow us to interpret the otherwise obscure flower with three petals  (R6) and flower-shaped object with three prongs  (S1), as substitutions of similar kind and shape. The man with hands clasped at his chest writes the first person suffix, by direct representation, as above (comment m.).

s. The preposition *n* is written with the standard water sign in R6 and with the red crown in all other versions (see comment e.). The following third person suffix =*f* is written with the standard viper in R6 and Mt. In Sh 3, the cobra substitutes for the viper, one snake for another.³⁶⁴ However, in the earliest version (S1), the preposition was followed directly by a man with one arm raised, in a posture associated usually with recitation (see comment b.). In all subsequent variants, the man follows the suffix =*f* and


the figure with clasped hands *and* the duckling. If those signs represented variant spellings of *dy*, as Drioton suggests, then the omission of that word from Mt constitutes a major departure from all prior parallels. If, however, the signs write suffix =*j* and preposition *m*, respectively, as suggested here, then the omission of both words in Mt is of relatively minor consequence.

³⁶⁰ See ČERNÝ and GROLL, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, 111, §7.2.2.

³⁶¹ The convention is ubiquitous in Egyptian religious iconography (for the form, see SCHÄFER, *Principles*, 96).

³⁶² I.e., substitution of kind, in which the wide strip of land plus plural strokes/dots substitutes for the narrow strip of land plus small dots used to write *t3*.

³⁶³ DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 48 and nn. 66–67.

³⁶⁴ For the interchangeability of serpents in cryptic texts, see DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 45, n. 39. This use of  for *f* is also attested later, in Ptolemaic (FAIRMAN, *BI-FAO* 43 (1945), 70, nr. 192a; also see D. KURTH, *Einführung*, vol. 1, 48, n. 6, with additional references).


holds various objects in his upraised hand.³⁶⁵ On analogy with these later versions, we may interpret the figure in S1, not as reciting, but rather as lifting or raising.³⁶⁶ The verb associated most probably with this act is *f3j*, “to raise,” which becomes *f* through omission of the weak radicals *3* and *j*.³⁶⁷ This and the later parallels, which combine various lifting men with the viper (R6, Mt) or cobra (Sh3), should probably be regarded as increasingly elaborate, cryptic antecedents to the better known, and more compact, Ptolemaic orthographies for alphabetic *f*.³⁶⁸ As a possible alternative, the lifting figures might also be interpreted more literally, as logographic writings *f3j*, “to lift,” reading in S1: *h3=j n f33 R^c*, “that I might shine on behalf of the one who elevates Re”; versus R6, Sh3, and Mt: *h3=j n=f f33 R^c*, “that I might shine on his behalf, (namely) the one who elevates Re.” As a third alternative, the various men with upraised arms, etc., might represent variations of the reciting man / vocative particle, as seen already at the beginning of the inscription. In this way, the final clause would read *h3=j n=f j R^c*, “that I might shine on his behalf, O Re.” However, while this reading of the signs appears straightforward, it results in an abrupt shift, whereby Osiris stops speaking to “those who tow” and starts speaking to Re, without any pause or break from one address to the next. Given this contextual consideration, we regard the first and second alternatives as more plausible interpretations.

t. Direct representation of the solar disc. In the present context, *R^c* seems preferable to *jtn* (cf. comment p., above).

³⁶⁵ A piece of crocodile skin (R6), the white crown (Sh3), and a heart (Mt).

³⁶⁶ In fact, we might view the preceding red crown as the object that the figure in S1 raises; see n. 368, below.

³⁶⁷ FAIRMAN, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 242, I.

³⁶⁸ See FAIRMAN, *BIFAO* 43 (1945), 70, nr. 192a: , et al. Also cf. the frequent Ptolemaic practice of assigning a phonetic or ideographic value to the *object* that is lifted, rather than the human figure (see, e.g., D. KURTH, *Einführung*, vol. 1, 131–33, 25a–28b). This principle probably did not condition the value of the present signs, given that each parallel text includes a different object (or none). Unless the parallels all diverge at this point, we must conclude that the null value in this case was the lifted object itself, rather than the human figure.

CHAPTER 3

ANNOTATIONS TO THE UPPER REGISTER: THE TRANSIT OF THE SOLAR BARQUES

Like their counterparts from the Awakening tableau discussed in Chapter 2, captions labeling the smaller figures from the “western” and “eastern” sides of the upper register were written in standard hieroglyphs (§§3.1–3), while most of the longer annotations to the larger figures, at the center of the scene, appear in cryptography (§§3.4–6). All of the non-cryptic elements have been translated previously.³⁶⁹ Regarding the cryptic texts, only the annotation to the god Atum (§3.4) and the enigmatic titulary of Sety I (§3.6) have received significant scholarly treatment.³⁷⁰

§3.1 The winged sun disc

The giant, winged solar disc appears at the center of the upper register, spanning the four quarters of the cosmos. The central disc itself hovers directly above the titulary of the deceased (§3.6). The wings of the disc extend outward, above the evening and morning barques (§§3.4–5), before terminating near the “western” and “eastern” horizons (§§3.2 and 3.3), above the smaller, guardian deities of the “southern” and “northern” skies (texts T4–7 and texts T9–12, respectively).

³⁶⁹ See PIANKOFF, *Ramesses VI*, 439–441; and ASSMANN, *Mutirdis*, 92–93.

³⁷⁰ For the enigmatic titulary of Sety I, see É. DRIOTON, *Kêmi* 12 (1952), 24–33, with additional comments on many of Drioton’s readings in §3.6, text T21, below. For the annotation to Atum, see KLOTZ, *GM* 233 (2012), 22–23, with additional references.

Text T1: Beneath the west wing.

S1	R6	R9	Sh3	Mt
		omit		

S1: *Bḥd.t(j) nṯr ʿ3 nb p.t*, “The Behdetite,³⁷¹ great god, lord of the sky.”

R6 and Mt: *Bḥd.t(j) nṯr ʿ3 s3b šw.t*, “The Behdetite, great god, dappled of plumage.”³⁷²

Sh3: *Bḥd.t(j) nṯr [...]*, “The Behdetite, [great?] god [...].”

Text T2: Beneath the east wing.

S1	R6	R9	Sh3	Mt
		omit		

S1: *Bḥd.t(j) [...] nb p.t*, “The Behdetite [...] lord of the sky.”

R6: *Bḥd.t(j) nṯr ʿ3 s3b m3^c(.t)*, “The Behdetite, great god, dappled of ‘truth’.”^a

Sh3, and Mt: *Bḥd.t(j) nṯr ʿ3 s3b šw.t*, “The Behdetite, great god, dappled of plumage.”

a. R6 writes *m3^c(.t)*, “truth,” as a pun on the expected *šw.t*-plume, , which functions otherwise as the emblem of the goddess Ma’at.³⁷³




³⁷¹ The elder sky god Horus, who served originally and primarily as the national god of Lower Egypt, and whose title and cult center were later assimilated by the Upper Egyptian cult center of Edfu (see GARDINER, *JEA* 30 (1944), 23–60).

³⁷² For the epithet *s3b šw.t*, “dappled/variegated of plumage,” see GARDINER, *JEA* 30 (1944), 44–49.

³⁷³ PIANKOFF, *Ramesses VI*, 439, n. 1.

§3.2 Western horizon and gods of the southern sky

Text T3: In front of the “west” emblem, above the first (uppermost) row of small deities.




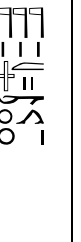


S1	R6	R9	Sh3	Mt
<i>lost</i>		<i>omit</i>		

3h.t jmnt.t, “The western horizon.”



Beneath this label, the five sources all present variations of the same set of captions, which name four groups of gods in the “southern sky.”³⁷⁴ The organization and layout of the individual texts, relative to their figures, varies considerably. Sety I includes a row of text above each of four rows of three deities. Ramesses VI, Sheshonq III, and Mutirdis all employ short columns in front of each of their four rows, which also include three figures. Ramesses IX employs a mixture of rows and columns, distributed in accord with the limited space available in the upper register, between two rows (designated herein as “superior” and “inferior”) of four deities each. The following captions are presented by row, from top to bottom, in accord with the layout employed in the majority of sources.

³⁷⁴ For the directional iconography of the “western” and “eastern” sides of the greater tableau, see Chapter 1.

*Text T4: Southern sky, uppermost row.*³⁷⁵

S1	R6	R9 ³⁷⁶			Sh3	Mt ³⁷⁷
<i>lost</i>						

ntr.w jmj(.w)-ht R^c m p.t rs.t,^a “Gods who follow³⁷⁸ Re in the southern sky.”

a. Sh3 substitutes the non-flowering sedge,  , for the compound *rsy*-hieroglyph, composed of the flowering sedge + mouth, .






³⁷⁵ The presentation of the four minor registers from top to bottom is purely conventional; for the relative chronological order, which ascends perhaps from bottom to top, see below, Ch. 4, §4.3.

³⁷⁶ The first Ramesses IX text appears in the top 1/3 of a column that spans the superior and inferior registers, separated from the remainder of the text in that column by a horizontal line. The second text runs horizontally, along the top of the inferior row. The third, abbreviated text, reading *Ntr.w jmj(.w)-ht R^c*, “Gods who accompany Re,” appears three times, with minor orthographic variations, in short columns above the three right-most deities in the superior register. Cf. variations in the first group of gods of the “northern sky,” in §3.3, text T9, below.

³⁷⁷ In front of the first and third standing deities, Mutirdis adds: *jr(t)-s3 Wsjr rh.t-njsw.t Mw.t-jr-dj=s*, “Protection of the Osiris and king’s acquaintance, Mutirdis.” In front of the second deity: *jr(t)-s3 Wsjr hr(j.t)-šmsw.t Mw.t-jr-dj=s*, “Protection of the Osiris and chief follower, Mutirdis.” Thus, also row three, below (text T6), as well as row one from the corresponding “northern” deities (§3.3, text T9); cf. rows two and four, below (texts T5 and T7) which include the same name and titles, in reverse order.

³⁷⁸ Lit., “who are in the wake of.” QUACK, *Sudhoffs Archiv* 83 (1999), 216, speculates that these are stars that the Egyptians supposed must rise after sunrise and would, therefore, have been invisible to the naked eye during the day.

Text T5: Southern sky, second row (from top).

S1 ³⁷⁹	R6	R9 ³⁸⁰	Sh3	Mt ³⁸¹
				

ntr.w nb.w nbj jmj.w p.t rs.t, “Gods, possessors of flame,³⁸² who are in the southern sky.”

³⁷⁹ The legs of the figures from the first row overlap and partially obscure the row of text that labels the figures in the second row.

³⁸⁰ This caption follows immediately below the first of the R9 texts, discussed above (text T4), in the middle of the long column that spans the superior and inferior registers.

³⁸¹ In front of the first and third standing deities, Mutirdis adds: *jr(t)-s3 Wsjr hr(f.t)-šms(w).t Mw.t-jr-dj=s*, “Protection of the Osiris and chief follower, Mutirdis.” In front of the second deity: *jr(t)-s3 Wsjr rh.t-njsw.t Mw.t-jr-dj=s*, “Protection of the Osiris and king’s acquaintance, Mutirdis.” Thus, also §3.2.4; cf. §3.2.1 and 3.2.3, which include the same name and titles in reverse order.

³⁸² QUACK, *Sudhoffs Archiv* 83 (1999), 216, speculates that this epithet might refer to stars that were “strikingly bright” in the night sky and already above the horizon by sunset.

Text T6: Southern sky, third row (from top).

S1	R6	R9 ³⁸³	Sh3	Mt ³⁸⁴

S1: *ntr.w wnnw m šms R^c m [...]*, “Gods who are ever in the entourage of Re,³⁸⁵ in [...].”

R6: *ntr.w jmj(.w) šms Hrw (m) p.t rs.t*, “Gods who are in the entourage of Horus,^a (in) the southern sky.”

R9, Sh3, and Mt: *ntr.w jmj(.w) šms R^c m p.t rs.t*, “Gods who are in the entourage of Re, in the southern sky.”






a. All other versions write “Re.” The unexpected occurrence of the falcon + flagellum here invites reflection upon the overlapping functions of Horus and Re as avian, solar deities—a theme that also coincides with the iconography of the upper register generally (see Ch. 4, §4.3.2). Also cf. the neighboring cryptic texts, in which variations of the falcon hieroglyph write *ntr* (see §2.3, A10, c; §3.4, T13, a; §3.5, T17, a, c) and *nb* (§3.5, T18, b–c).

³⁸³ This text appears immediately beneath the preceding (text T5), at the bottom of the longer column spanning the superior and inferior registers.

³⁸⁴ The figures are personalized with the name and titles of the deceased; see discussion at text T4, above.

³⁸⁵ QUACK, *Sudhoffs Archiv* 83 (1999), 215, speculates that this group might correspond to stars thought to rise at the same time as the sun.

Text T7: Southern sky, lowermost row.

S1	R6 ³⁸⁶	R9 ³⁸⁷	Sh3	Mt ³⁸⁸
				

ntr.w prr.w ^a *m* ^b *h3.t* ^c *wj3 m p.t rs.t*, “The gods who emerge in front of ^d the barque in the southern sky.”

a. Only S1 includes the plural marker. Sh3 writes *pr*, with no indication of any participial endings.

b. S1 substitutes the *aleph*-vulture for the *m*-owl, one bird for another.


c. Sh3 substitutes the jackal-headed *wsr*-staff for the *h3.t*-lion, one truncated mammal’s head / fore-parts for another.³⁸⁹

d. The literal translation of *m h3.t* as “in front of” accommodates the temporal reading proposed by QUACK, who interprets these figures as stars that rise “before” sunrise and are therefore visible at night.³⁹⁰ Alternately, we might also understanding *h3.t* as part of the boat itself, reading “who emerge from the prow of the barque.”³⁹¹

³⁸⁶ In order to avoid the stern of the evening barque, the R6 caption begins in the upper left corner of the fourth register as a short row of text, which becomes a column from *m h3.t* onward, running parallel to the first of the three deities in that row.

³⁸⁷ This text appears as short column above the first god in the superior register, running parallel to the first R9 text, discussed above (text T4).

³⁸⁸ The figures are personalized with the name and titles of the deceased; see discussion at text T4.

³⁸⁹ This interchange is attested in other post-New Kingdom nautical texts, where  serves as a late writing of *h3.t*, “prow rope” (JONES, *Nautical Titles*, 160, nr. 38).

³⁹⁰ QUACK, *Sudhoffs Archiv* 83 (1999), 215.

³⁹¹ For this use, see JONES, *Nautical Titles*, 173, nr. 97.

*Text T9: Northern sky, uppermost row.*³⁹²

S1	R6	R9 ³⁹³					Sh3	Mt ³⁹⁴

ntr.w jmj.w-ht R^c m p.t mh.t, “Gods who follow³⁹⁵ Re in the northern sky.”

Text T10: Northern sky, second row (from top).

S1	R6	R9 ³⁹⁶	Sh3	Mt ³⁹⁷
				<i>lost</i>

³⁹² The presentation of the four minor registers from top to bottom is purely conventional; for the relative chronological order, which ascends perhaps from bottom to top, see below, Ch. 4, §4.3

³⁹³ The first two captions appear in a single column that spans both the superior and inferior registers. The third and fourth captions appear in two short columns, above the two leftmost deities in the superior register; the latter text employs the abbreviated formula *Ntr.w jmj.w-ht R^c*, “Gods who accompany Re.” The fifth text appears in a short column in front of the middle deity in the inferior register. Cf. variations in the first group of gods of the “southern sky,” in §3.2, text T4, above.



³⁹⁴ The figures are personalized with the name and titles of the deceased; see discussion at §3.2, text T4.

³⁹⁵ For this epithet, see §3.2, Text T4.





³⁹⁶ The text appears in a short column above the first god in the superior register.

³⁹⁷ The deities in the second row are almost entirely destroyed (see pl. 5, below).

ntr.w nb.w nbj jmj.w p.t^a *mḥ.t*, “Gods, possessors of flame,³⁹⁸ who are in the northern sky.”

a. According to Montet’s drawing, Sh3 includes a small or partially preserved *n*-hieroglyph, , in the position where all other sources have *p.t*, . Although this might represent a simple scribal error, the former sign might also interchange with the latter as a cryptic substitution of similarly shaped water signs.³⁹⁹

Text T11: Northern sky, third row (from top).

S1	R6 ⁴⁰⁰	R9 ⁴⁰¹	Sh3	Mt ⁴⁰²
				<i>lost</i>



S1: [...] *m p.t mḥ.t*, “... in the northern sky.”

R6 and Mt: *ntr.w jmj.w šms R^c m p.t mḥ.t*, “Gods who are in the entourage of Re,⁴⁰³ in the northern sky.”

R9: *ntr.w šms R^c m p.t mḥ.t*, “Gods who accompany Re in the northern sky.”

Sh3: [...] *R^c* [...], “... Re ...”

³⁹⁸ For this epithet, see §3.2, Text T5.

³⁹⁹ The reverse substitution, i.e.  for , occurs in the cryptic speech of Osiris, from the tomb of Mutirdis, for which see above, §2.5, text A15, comment f. For the *p.t*-hieroglyph as an elevated body of water, see J. ALLEN, “Cosmology of the Pyramid Texts,” 11.




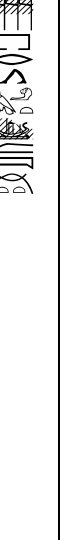
⁴⁰⁰ The first word of R6 follows immediately beneath the preceding caption (§3.3.2), at the end of the longer column running parallel to the four registers of small deities. Due to space consideration imposed by the prow of the morning barque, the remainder of the inscription appears above and to the right, in the two left-most columns of text above the gods in that boat, in retrograde script.

⁴⁰¹ The R9 text appears in a short column in front of the first god in the inferior register.

⁴⁰² The row is almost entirely destroyed (see pl. 5, below).

⁴⁰³ For this epithet, see §3.2, Text T6.

Text T12: Northern sky, lowermost row.

S1 ⁴⁰⁴	R6 ⁴⁰⁵	R9 ⁴⁰⁶	Sh3 ⁴⁰⁷	Mt ⁴⁰⁸
		<p style="text-align: center;">omit</p>		

S1: [...] $wj\bar{s}$ ^a $m p.t mh.t <h>$ ^b [...] $m \bar{z}h.t j\bar{s}bt.t n.t p.t$, “...barque in the northern sky, <after it has appeared> [...] in the eastern horizon of the sky.”

⁴⁰⁴ Sety’s caption begins with a short row of text above the fourth group of small deities and concludes in a damaged column to the right (i.e. retrograde) that runs perpendicular to the four rows of small deities, above and slightly to the left of the falcon-headed god in the morning barque. Similar arrangements occurs in R6 and Sh3.

⁴⁰⁵ The R6 text begins immediately below the preceding caption (text T11) and continues in retrograde fashion over the following three columns, stopping at the point where the cryptic annotation to Re-Horakhty begins (§3.5, text T17).

⁴⁰⁶ The blank column in front of the third god in the inferior register might have been intended originally to hold the omitted text.

⁴⁰⁷ Like R6, the Sh3 text begins immediately below the preceding caption, then continues in retrograde fashion into a short column on the right. Near the top of this second column, the left wingtip of the central solar disc intercedes between m and $m\bar{n}d.t$.





⁴⁰⁸ In front of the first and second gods, Mutirdis adds: $jr(t)-s\bar{s} Wsjr rh.t-njsw.t Mw.t-jr-dj=s$, “Protection of the Osiris and king’s acquaintance, Mutirdis.” In front of the third god: $jr(t)-s\bar{s} Wsjr hrj(.t)-\bar{s}ms(w).t Mw.t-jr-dj=s$, “Protection of the Osiris and chief follower, Mutirdis.”

R6: *ntr.w prr m h3.t wj3 m p.t mh.t h^c(=w) m M^cnd.t m 3h.t j3bt.t [...]*, “Gods who emerge in front of the barque in the northern sky,⁴⁰⁹ after it has appeared as the Morning Barque from the eastern horizon [...].”

Sh3: *ntr.w [jm(j) h3.t ?]^c wj3 m p.t mh.t h^c=t^d m M^cnd.t [m 3]h.t^e j3bt.t n.t pt*, “Gods [who are in front of ?] the barque in the northern sky, after it has appeared as the Morning Barque [in] the eastern [h]orizon of the sky.”

Mt: *ntr.w pr(r)^f m h3.t wj3 m p.t mh.t*, “Gods who emerge in front of the barque in the northern sky.”

a. The first, partially preserved sign appears to depict the *ntr*-fetish above an inverted *3bd*-crescent. The parallel texts all indicate that this group must represent *wj3*, “barque.” By this interpretation, the crescent represents most probably the curved hull of a water craft, with the *ntr*-fetish in the position of the cabin, indicating the divinity of the boat’s passenger.

b. Frankfort’s drawing clearly shows  at the top of the damaged row. A comparison with the corresponding R6 and Sh3 texts shows , for stative *h^c*, at this point. If that word was intended also in S1, then  might be interpreted plausibly as a class substitution for , one rising sun for another. Given that the rest of the short captions to the northern gods are written in standard, non-cryptic hieroglyphs, this substitution might have arisen unintentionally, as a scribal error.

c. The signs suggested tentatively here are based on the scant traces recorded in Montet’s drawing, which appears to show insufficient space between *ntr.w* and *wj3* to accommodate the full caption, as found in the parallel texts.

d. Sh3 has replaced the Ø-ending of the stative, as found in R6, with =*t*, probably under the influence of the generic stative ending =*tw/tj* of Late Egyptian.⁴¹⁰

e. In Montet’s drawing, only the head of the *m*-owl is visible, together with the feet and tail of the lower bird, which must represent the *3*-vulture.

⁴⁰⁹ For this epithet, see §3.2, Text T7, comment d.

⁴¹⁰ ČERNÝ and GROLL, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, 197–96, paradigm 2.

f. Mt does not show the gemination of the participle here, but cf. the corresponding caption from the opposite side (§3.2, text T7), which writes the expected form, *prr*.

§3.4 West side, figures in the evening barque

The following captions and speeches of Atum (texts T13–14) and the deceased (texts 15–16) are attested in the tombs of Sety I, Ramesses VI, Sheshonq III, and Mutirdis. Ramesses IX includes only the non-cryptic names and epithets of the royal figure at the center of the barque (text T15).

Text T13: Evening barque, stern. Atum.

S1	R6 ⁴¹¹	Sh3	Mt

a. Direct representation of a divine falcon on a standard.⁴¹² The following adjective ʕ, written normally in R6, Sh3, and Mt, does not appear in S1.

b. The designation “lord of the sky” occurs as an epithet of Atum from the New Kingdom and later.⁴¹³ All four parallel texts here employ variants of the seated king as direct representations of a “lord.”⁴¹⁴

c. Only S1 spells out the word fully, utilizing the spewing mouth for *p*,⁴¹⁵ the bread loaf and cup for *t*,⁴¹⁶ and the usual “sky” determinative. All other sources employ the sky sign alone, as an ideogram.

d. The designation *hrj-tp*, “chief,” occurs as an epithet of Atum in religious papyri from the Third Intermediate Period.⁴¹⁷ R6 employs the non-cryptic *hr*-face plus a stroke, the latter sign perhaps writing alphabetic *j*,⁴¹⁸ as a full spelling of the *nisbe* adjective. S1 and Mt both employ the human-hair hieroglyph as a visual pun for *hrj*, being literally “that which is atop” the head.⁴¹⁹ For the second element, S1 employs the standard, non-cryptic *tp*-head. Mt substitutes the calf head, as a simple substitution of kind.⁴²⁰ Regarding the isosceles triangle in R6, Klotz has proposed to read that sign as the *jdb*-hieroglyph, employed as a logogram for “near homophonous” *tp*.⁴²¹ Such a reading is possible on purely phonetic grounds, although the sign’s singular orthography urges caution.⁴²² A viable alternative arises if we recognize that the triangle, in fact, represents a thorn—the usual deter-

⁴¹² See discussion above, at §2.3, text A10, comment b.

⁴¹³ LEITZ, *Lexikon*, vol. 3, 624–25 [36, 39, 107–08].

⁴¹⁴ See DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 26, n. 62; cf. also MÜLLER-ROTH, *Buch vom Tage*, 455 (A42) and note a similar substitution below, §3.6, T21, comment k.

⁴¹⁵ An exceedingly common cryptic orthography, although the precise substitution mechanism remains open to conjecture (see discussion, with additional references, in DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 42–45).

⁴¹⁶ See above, §2.5, text A15, comment m.



⁴¹⁷ LEITZ, *Lexikon*, vol. 5, 387, g [4, 6]; contra KLOTZ, *GM* 233 (2012), 22, n. 18.


⁴¹⁸ I.e., as a rebus from that sign’s use for the first person suffix =*j*.


⁴¹⁹ This use also occurs later, in the Ptolemaic texts at Edfu, where the hair-sign is employed in the epithet *hrj-tp*, “chief” (FAIRMAN, *BIFAO* 43 (1945), 108; P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 666), as in the present text.



⁴²⁰ Thus, also LEITZ, *Lexikon*, vol. 5, 399; see now also KLOTZ, *GM* 233 (2012), 23, n. 22, with additional references.




⁴²¹ KLOTZ, *GM* 233 (2012), 23, n. 22.

⁴²² Every other example of the *jdb*-sign in the R6 text employs the “condensed” tongue of land, offset at an angle, i.e.  (Gardiner sign O21), as opposed to the longer version,  (Gardiner O20); for the former sign, cf. §3.2, texts T3–7, and §3.3, texts T8–12 (eight examples).

minative in words conveying the notion of “sharpness.”⁴²³ In the present context, this thorn substitutes most likely for the *tp*-dagger , by similarity of shape (one tall, narrow sign for another) and kind (one sharp object for another). Although the derivation is unique, it fits the required phonetic context exactly, without requiring multiple orthographies for *jdb* within the same composition.




e. Reading the *sm3-t3.wy* emblem with its normal ideographic value, interpreted here as an active participle.⁴²⁴ As possible alternatives, Klotz suggests that  might instead be read ideographically as either *sm3*, i.e. “the one who is atop the *sm3*-throne,” or as *t3.wy*, i.e. “the chief of the two lands,” noting occurrences of the latter as an epithet of Atum from the Ptolemaic Period.⁴²⁵

f. Written with standard, non-cryptic hieroglyphs in all versions, except S1. The latter text employs the *p.t* sign, , for  by similarity of shape (one low, flat sign for another), followed in turn by the normal phonetic complements *t-p*, the order of which confirms the correct reading as *htp*.⁴²⁶

g. Spellings of *Mskt.t* without the initial *m* are relatively common from the Middle Kingdom and later.⁴²⁷ For the omission of *m* after the homophonous preposition, compare, e.g.,   , *ntr pn m (M)skt.t*, “this god in the Evening Barque,” from the first hour of the Amduat.⁴²⁸ Regarding the partially cryptic orthography in S1, the *nb*-basket substitutes for the similarly shaped *k*-basket employed in all other sources.⁴²⁹ On the basis of

⁴²³ GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, 484, M44.

⁴²⁴ Thus, also LEITZ, *Lexikon*, vol. 5, 399 (citing Seti I and Mutirdis only), translating *sm3* as the infinitive (“Der Oberhaupt des Vereinigens der Beiden Länder”).


⁴²⁵ KLOTZ, *GM* 233 (2012), 23, n. 23 (following LEITZ, *Lexikon*, vol. 5, 401; also cf. D. KURTH, *Einführung*, vol. 1, 227, 79). In addition, Klotz argues persuasively against L. MORENZ, *DE* 61 (2005), 106–07; and idem, *Sinn und Spiel*, 150–51, who proposes an implausible, acrophonic reading of , for *s*, plus the following group  , for alphabetic *h-t-p*, as an otherwise unattested passive participle, *shtp*.

⁴²⁶ Contra L. MORENZ, *DE* 61 (2005), 06; idem, *Sinn und Spiel*, 150–51 (see previous note). For the “resting” or “setting” (*htp*) of Atum in the Land of the Dead (*m3nw*), see LEITZ, *Lexikon*, vol. 5, 573–75.

⁴²⁷ *Wb* II, 150; there are already many occurrences already, e.g., in the Coffin Texts (see R. VAN DER MOLLEN, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 185).

⁴²⁸ E. HORNING, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, 126; read thus in *ibid.*, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, 18, 2.

⁴²⁹ The cryptic *nb*-basket of S1 was omitted from the transcription in KLOTZ, *GM* 233 (2012), 22–23 (for the correct transcription, followed here, cf. FRANKFORT et al., *Cenotaph*, pl. 74).

the parallel texts and the faint traces indicated in Frankfort's drawing, we may restore the damaged word plausibly as .⁴³⁰ The curious, central placement and reversal of the seated god determinative appears to evoke the relative position the king himself, who stands at the center of the evening barque with his back to the prow.

Text T14: Speech of Atum (Sety I only).



Atum addresses the king, stating that all blessings (stability, life, dominion) lie before him. In addition to the general context of divine benediction, the speech can be understood to refer specifically to the cascade of hieroglyphs that descend from the winged sun disc above,⁴³¹ toward the prow of the barque in which the king travels.



dd *nh* *w3s* *nb*^a *hnt=k*^b


“All stability, life, and dominion are before you.”



a. Frankfort's drawing shows a recumbent, quadrupedal mammal of indistinct species.⁴³² The proposed reading as *nb*, “all,” fits the context and may be explained as the substitution of one recumbent quadruped for an-

⁴³⁰ Variations of the *sk*-hieroglyph, , are present in all other versions and conform with the first tall, narrow lacuna. Regarding the final group, reconstructed above as , Frankfort's drawing shows a short horizontal stroke near the base line followed by a tall vertical stroke, with a slight outward curve near the top. It is also conceivable that the traces correspond to the hull and curved stern of a boat determinative, as in the parallel texts, but the available space between the seated god and the edge of the lacuna appears too narrow to accommodate any of the standard hieroglyphic depictions of watercraft. A similar interpretation of this group, based on the published parallels, was also reached independently by KLOTZ, *GM* 233 (2012), 22–23, contra MORENZ, *Sinn und Spiel*, 150, who neglects to transcribe the hieroglyphs in Sety's version, ignores the undamaged content of the three published parallels, and consequently transliterates the end of the text incorrectly as “*nb /// m m3nw*.”



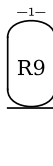





⁴³¹ In Sety's version, the cascade consists of *dd* and *nh* signs only, thus also Ramesses VI, Sheshonq III, and Mutirdis; cf. Ramesses IX, which incorporates *nh* and *w3s*, omitting *dd*.

⁴³² Perhaps an ichneumon? For the relevant iconography, see BRUNNER-TRAUT, *NAWG* 7 (1964), 128–31, 138–140.

other: Namely, the lion, , which occurs later, in Ptolemaic Egyptian, with the expected phonetic value.⁴³³

b. The calf's head, with and without visible ears, is attested in non-cryptic contexts as a logographic spelling of *hnt* since at least the Nineteenth Dynasty.⁴³⁴ The derivation is transparent, being a substitution of kind for the human face, , as that which is literally “in front.”⁴³⁵ The final sign, a cow's skin and tail, for *k*, is well attested in other cryptic contexts, being derived through *pars pro toto* substitution for the *k3*-bull, , which becomes *k* via the consonantal principle.⁴³⁶

Text T15: Evening barque, center. The deceased.

S1	R6	R9	Mt
			
			

⁴³³ Multiple examples in S. CAUVILLE, *Dendara Index*, 247 (as noun) and 261 (as adjective). The lion presumably acquires the value *nb* from the ubiquitous representations of the king in leonine form, serving hence as a direct representation of a “lord,” which serves in turn as a rebus for the adjective “any, all.”

⁴³⁴ *Wb* III, 302.9–10; for cryptic use, see WERNING, “Aenigmatische Schreibungen,” 141, F63.

⁴³⁵ See A. ERMAN, “Ein orthographisches Kriterium,” *ZÄS* 55 (1918), 86–88, who notes a possible example of the preposition written with the human face as a logogram already in the Middle Kingdom. Also note the rare use of the calf's head in other cryptic contexts with the value of *hft*, as discussed in DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 300–01. Of course, given that *hnt* and *hft* both convey the notion of “in front,” the choice of one or the other in the present context is entirely academic.

⁴³⁶ See DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 68 and n. 146, with additional references; WERNING, “Aenigmatische Schreibungen,” 141, F27/F28.

In the version of Sety I, the caption labeling the deceased includes a series of royal epithets, plus the king's birth name in pious, cryptic form (see comment c.). The versions of Ramesses VI, Ramesses IX and Mutirdis all incorporate the name of the deceased, in addition to any epithets or titles, in conventional hieroglyphs. The corresponding text labeling Sheshonq III has been destroyed.

S1: s_3 n $\underline{h}.t=f^a$ $mr=f^b$ Sty^c dj [$^c n \underline{h}$ mj] R^c $\underline{d}.t^d$

“Son of his body, his beloved,⁴³⁷ Sety, given [life like] Re, eternally.”

R6: s_3 n $\underline{h}.t=f^e$ nb $\underline{h}^e.w$ ($R^c-ms-s(w)$ $Jmn-\underline{hr}-\underline{hp}\check{s}=f$ $n\underline{tr}$ $\underline{h}q_3$ $Jwnw$)|^f m_3^c-
 $\underline{hr}w$, “Son of his body, Lord of Appearances,

(Ramesses Amunherkhepeshef, god and ruler of Heliopolis)|, justified.”

R9: ($Nfr-k_3-R^c$ stp n R^c)|,^g “(Neferkare, chosen of Re)|.”

Mt: $\underline{hr}j(.t)-\check{s}ms.w(.t)$ [$Mw.t-jr-dj=s$], “Chief of followers, [Mutirdis].”

a. The first element is written by direct representation of a male child seated on its mother's lap, as a “son.”⁴³⁸ The red crown writes the preposition n , as elsewhere throughout the composition.⁴³⁹ The group $\underline{h}.t=f$, “his body,” is written with the non-cryptic cow's belly for \underline{h} , plus the tall bread loaf for gender marker t ,⁴⁴⁰ and rampant serpent for suffix $=f$.⁴⁴¹ The gender marker and suffix have switched places, as an example of cryptic perturbation (cf. the more conventional sign order in R6, comment f., below).

b. The relative form is written with the conventional mr -canal, plus the rampant serpent for suffix $=f$.


⁴³⁷ A similar translation of the first two epithets, without transcription or additional explanations, appears in L. MORENZ, *Sinn und Spiel*, 180. For Morenz's problematic reading of the remainder of the inscription, see below, comments c–d.



⁴³⁸ The same sign might also be read as an ideogram for msw , “(male) child” (*Wb* II, 139). For royal filiation with the s_3 / msw n $\underline{h}.t=f$ $mr=f$ formulae, see E. FEUCHT, *Das Kind im alten Ägypten. Die Stellung des Kindes in Familie und Gesellschaft nach altägyptischen Texten und Darstellungen* (Frankfurt and New York, 1995), 442–61.


⁴³⁹ See above, §2.5, text A15, comment e.


⁴⁴⁰ See above, §2.5, text A15, comment m.

⁴⁴¹ See above, §2.3, text A9, comment c.

c. The Osirian king with flail substitutes for Seth, a ubiquitous convention in spellings of the king's birth name as *St(h)y* at Abydos.⁴⁴² The scarab for alphabetic *t* is attested in cryptic texts as early as the Eighteenth Dynasty, although the origins of this value remain obscure.⁴⁴³ Reading the paired scarabs together, as a false dual,⁴⁴⁴ reveals a clever phonetic spelling of the *nisbe*-formation of the birth name *Sty*, Sety (lit., "He of Seth"). As a possible alternative (rejected here), one might read this group as *nb t3.wy*, "Lord of the Two Lands," interpreting the seated king as a direct representation of a "lord" followed by the paired scarabs for *t3.wy*, as found later in Ptolemaic Egyptian.⁴⁴⁵ However, such an interpretation would negate the occurrence of the king's name, which appears in all parallel sources. In this regard, note also the untenable solution proposed by L. MORENZ, who translates this group, to the end, as "König der beiden Länder [*Mn-m3^c.t-R^c*], der ewig lebt."⁴⁴⁶ Unfortunately, MORENZ neglects to transcribe the actual hieroglyphs and consequently fails to account for the arm, , which appears immediately before the lacuna, where he would restore Sety's throne name. If that damaged section originally concealed *Mn-m3^c.t-R^c*, as Morenz supposes, then the arm must either belong at the end of his "König der beiden Länder" group or at the beginning of *Mn-m3^c.t-R^c*. Neither scenario is plausible and, in either event, Morenz neglects to explain his readings or provide additional references or parallels to support them (also see the following comment).

d. The benediction *dj nh mj R^c* is the usual formula employed after Sety's throne or birth names in his monuments at Abydos.⁴⁴⁷ The arm is well attested as a substitution of kind for , *dj*, encountered most frequently in Hieratic documents.⁴⁴⁸ The disc writes *R^c*, by direct representation, as discussed above.⁴⁴⁹ The lacuna, therefore, probably conceals a compact writing of *nh mj*, perhaps utilizing  for *nh*, as elsewhere in the

⁴⁴² P. BRAND, *The Monuments of Sety I. Epigraphic, Historical and Art Historical Analysis* (Leiden, 2000), 31, citing the more usual, semi-cryptic orthography , *Sty*, for which cf. also §3.5, text T18, comment e.

⁴⁴³ DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 25, with additional references. FAIRMAN, *ASAÉ* 43 (1943), 272, LIV, suggested that the alphabetic value derived from the spelling of *t3*, "earth," as , which value he posits "might have originated in a pun." A similar suggestion appears in L. MORENZ, *Sinn und Spiel*, 44–45.

⁴⁴⁴ See GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, 62, §79.

⁴⁴⁵ See, e.g., CAUVILLE, *Dendara Index*, 599; P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 1118 (*t3*; *t3wy*); D. KURTH, *Einführung*, vol. 1, 298, 1, n. 17.





⁴⁴⁶ L. MORENZ, *Sinn und Spiel*, 180.

⁴⁴⁷ BRAND, *Monuments of Sety I*, 41.


⁴⁴⁸ GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, 454, D36.


⁴⁴⁹ §2.5, text A15, comment u.

present text,⁴⁵⁰ and followed by the normal *mj*-hieroglyph, i.e. restored as

. The following adverb *d.t*, encountered frequently after the “given life” formula,⁴⁵¹ is written here with the normal *d*-cobra, followed by the scarab for *t*, as discussed above (comment c.). The lined mound between paired hillocks of earth, ,⁴⁵² substitutes for the more conventional land determinatives,  and .


e. The initial cryptic group follows closely the S1 antecedent, with the exception of the conventional water sign employed for preposition *n* and the absence of perturbation in the group *h.t=f*. The remainder of the caption, unlike S1, appears entirely in the normal script.


f. Ramesses VI, birth name, plus epithet: .

g. Ramesses IX, throne name, plus epithet: .


⁴⁵⁰ See below, §3.5, text T18, comment g.



⁴⁵¹ See B. BIRKSTAM, “Given Life Like Re Eternally — A Royal Epitheton,” in S. Brunnsåker and H.-Å. Nordström (eds.), *From the Gustavianum Collections in Uppsala*, 1974 (Uppsala, 1974), 6–35, with other examples employed for the benefit of deceased rulers, as here, in *ibid.*, 30.


⁴⁵² Probably a variant of the “heap of grain atop a raised mud floor,”  (GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, 498, O51).

⁴⁵³ Cf. the spelling of the same word from the corresponding “eastern” text, as , in T18, below.

the root *nb(j)*, “to swim.”⁴⁵⁴ As a possible alternative, one might be tempted to interpret the *hw.t*-enclosure at face value, together with the contorted man for *nb*, as a writing of *nb(.t)-hw.t*, Nephthys, with reference to the goddess in the prow of the evening barque. However, the repeated use of the masculine suffix =*k* as the indirect object throughout the speech argues strongly against such an interpretation.

d. In R6 and Mt, cryptic *jw*, “come,” derives by rebus from the normal phonetic value of the hartebeest, .⁴⁵⁵ The recumbent mammal (donkey?) in S1 is a substitution of kind for the former creature. For alphabetic *n* (red crown) and *k* (cow’s hide and tail), see §2.5, text A15, comment e., and §3.4, text T14, comment b., respectively.

e. The conventional *dj*-arm appears in all versions. The reading of  as a logogram for *jtn*, “disc,” reflects the general solar motif of the upper register. By extension, one might also interpret the disc as a *pars pro toto* substitution for ,⁴⁵⁶ reading “so that I might present your eye (*jr.t*).”⁴⁵⁷ The association of the *jtn*-disc with Atum, the nocturnal hypostasis of the sun, finds parallels in private funerary monuments of the New Kingdom,⁴⁵⁸ the literary ‘Contendings of Horus and Seth’,⁴⁵⁹ Twenty-First Dynasty funerary papyri,⁴⁶⁰ and temple inscriptions of the Greco-Roman era.⁴⁶¹ The notion that the deceased might physically manipulate the sun disc, in this case “presenting” (*dj*) it to the god, is unusual but cf., for instance, Greco-

⁴⁵⁴ DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 278–79, n. 17; WERNING, “Aenigmatische Schreibungen,” 137, var. A101. Also note the Ptolemaic variant , *nbj* (D. KURTH, *Einführung*, vol. 1, 55), wherein the disposition of the “swimming” man resembles much more closely the form employed in the present text; thus also Ptolemaic spellings of the verb *mhj*,

“swim,” written as  (ibid., 128, 7).

⁴⁵⁵ See GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, 459, E9.

⁴⁵⁶ I.e. a pupil for the whole eye (DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 8, n. 29).

⁴⁵⁷ For examples of the solar eye equated with the *jtn*-disc, see LEITZ, *Lexikon*, vol. 1, 612 [34], 615 [32].





⁴⁵⁸ LEITZ, *Lexikon*, vol. 1, 614–15: Amun-Re-Harakhty-Atum and Re-Harakhty-Atum as *jtn wr* [9, 12], the “great disc” (TT 387; stela CG 34146).


⁴⁵⁹ LEITZ, *Lexikon*, vol. 1, 618: Re-Atum as *p3 jtn shd t3.wy m jnw=f*, “the disc that illuminates the Two Lands with its color” (*LES* 39, 8–9).

⁴⁶⁰ LEITZ, *Lexikon*, vol. 1, 614–15: Re-Harakhty-Atum as *jtn wr* [3], “the great disc” (pLuynes = BN 824 and 825); ibid., 617 [2]: Atum as *jtn nfr n mfk3 .t*, the “beautiful disc of turquoise” (pGreenfield, pl. 86).

⁴⁶¹ LEITZ, *Lexikon*, vol. 1, 614–15: the *jtn wr* [30, 32], “great disc” that circles Igeret as Atum (*Kom Ombo*, 320, 1) and is revealed in the pupil as the *ba* of Atum (*Dendara V*, 31, 13); ibid., 615: Atum as *jtn m p.t* [4], the “disc in the sky” (*Tôd II*, 235, 6); ibid., 619: *jtn Tm*, “disc of Atum” (*Esna IV*, 433, 2; 436).


Roman inscriptions from Dendera, where the king is said to “carry” (*rmn*) both the solar disc and the moon.⁴⁶²

f. The cryptic value *k3*, understood here as the verb “speak to (*n*) someone,”⁴⁶³ derives by rebus from the normal phonetic value of the bull. For *n=k*, see comment d., above. S1 employs the smoking incense bowl, , with the normal phonetic value *b3*.⁴⁶⁴ The similarly shaped milk jug, , employed in Mt, surely substitutes for the latter sign. By contrast, R6 employs the stone worker’s drill, , as a substitution of kind for the drill and bead, .⁴⁶⁵ In non-cryptic contexts, the latter sign serves as an ideogram for *wb3*, “open,”⁴⁶⁶ becoming *b3* here through omission of the initial weak semi-vowel *w*. The theme of the *ba* of the deceased, equated with Osiris, as a traveller in the barques of Atum and Re is well known from the Coffin Texts.⁴⁶⁷ For other gods speaking *m*, “by means of” the *ba* of Osiris, cf. CT II 67c–d: *jnk b3 pw ʿ3 n Wsjr wd.n ntr.w nk=f jm=f*, “I am this great *ba* of Osiris, by means of which the gods have commanded him to copulate.”⁴⁶⁸

g. The verbal root *ʿq* is written normally in all versions. The following suffix pronoun =*sn* employs a standard cryptic orthography,⁴⁶⁹ utilizing the cloth with fringe for *s* (class substitution, for ) and the red crown for *n*. The second occurrence of the suffix, in the context of the ethical dative

⁴⁶² LEITZ, *Lexikon*, vol. 1, 611–12 [35, 47] (*Dendara I*, 7, 14; IX, 175, 10).

⁴⁶³ *Wb V*, 85.8 (New Kingdom and later).

⁴⁶⁴ See GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, 501, R7 (class substitution for ) ; for cryptic use, see WERNING, “Aenigmatische Schreibungen,” 147–48, R7. In non-cryptic contexts, the bowl is usually accompanied by a jabiru or ram determinative, although writings with only a stroke also occur, e.g. in a Twenty-Sixth Dynasty Book of the Earth inscribed for Padihorresnet (ROBERSON, *Books of the Earth*, 275).

⁴⁶⁵ See GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, 519, U25 and U26, respectively.

⁴⁶⁶ It is conceivable that the use of the drill might also evoke a secondary, mythological allusion to the sun god, who is described in various New Kingdom cosmological works as *wb3*, “opening,” the Underworld and sky (see ROBERSON, *Books of the Earth*, 211, n. 546 for additional references).

⁴⁶⁷ See L. ŽABKAR, *A Study of the Ba-concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts*, SAOC 34 (Chicago, 1968), 96–106.

⁴⁶⁸ For the *ba* as the deceased’s agent in the divine realm, see ŽABKAR, *Ba-concept*, 113.

⁴⁶⁹ Thus, already from the second gilded shrine of Tutankhamun (see DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, pls. 5B, 6, 11; 5C, 4, 8, 12; 7B, 1; 7C, 1; 9A, 7–8, 9–12, 14–15; 9B, 2, plus many other examples); and in the Judgment scene from the Book of Gates (MANASSA, *RdÉ* 57 (2006), 118–19, 134–35); likewise also in the cryptic Book of the Earth texts from Sety’s cenotaph (ROBERSON, *Books of the Earth*, 304, Text 2, col. 2; 306, Text 4, cols. x+19–20; 307, Text 5, cols. 2–5).

$n=sn$, requires additional comment. S1 employs the *sn*-arrowhead⁴⁷⁰ with its normal alphabetic value but rotated sideways, for graphic congruence with the preceding horizontal sign. On analogy with this relatively transparent orthography, we can interpret the rotated *mr*-chisel and *mnḥ*-chisel,⁴⁷¹ found in R6 and Mt respectively, as substitutions based on similarity of shape for the rotated *sn*-arrowhead. Alternately, it is possible that all of the rotated signs substitute for the similarly shaped cow's hide rotated, i.e. $\Rightarrow\Delta$, for second person suffix $=k$, reading instead "so that they might enter on your behalf." For this reading, compare the damaged speech in text T19 (comment b.), below, which employs the rotated cow's hide with the value *k*.

h. In all versions, the imperative *m*, "give" is written with the *mr*-canal, acquiring the reduced alphabetic value *m* through omission of the final *r*, which had been lost in pronunciation.⁴⁷² The arm, which follows, serves as the word's normal determinative. The following dative $n=j$ employs the red crown for *n*, as elsewhere through the composition, plus the man pointing to his own face as a direct representation of the first person (see discussion above, at §2.5, text A15, comment d.). In the second iteration of the imperative, a seated man (also pointing to his face) substitutes for the previous standing figure. The direct object, *w3s*, is written with the standard logogram in all versions. The same group occurs in the corresponding text from the morning barque (text T19, comment e., below).

i. The dual construction $\epsilon.wy$ is written with various paired arms in all versions, as class substitutions for $\overline{\text{arm}}\overline{\text{arm}}$. This cryptic orthography helps incidentally to distinguish between the ideographic writing "arms" as such, as opposed to the non-cryptic arm determinative employed in conjunction with the imperative *m*, discussed above. The preposition *ḥ3* employs the standard, non-cryptic papyrus clump,⁴⁷³ plus the cow's hide and tail for suffix $=k$ (see comment d., above). The placement of arms around (literally "behind") describes a gesture of magical protection.⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷⁰ GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, 514, T22.



⁴⁷¹ GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, 518, U23 and U22, respectively.


⁴⁷² FAIRMAN, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 237, nr. 246a. Evidence for loss of final *r* can be seen already in non-cryptic uses of the *mr*-canal for phonetic *mj*, discussed in GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, 491, N36. Cf. also the many land- and water-signs that can substitute potentially for the *mr*-canal as writings of alphabetic *m*, discussed in DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 53–54.

⁴⁷³ GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, 481, M16.

⁴⁷⁴ GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, 130, §172, 2; RITNER, *Magical Practice*, 57, n. 266.


spelling of the latter sign occurs in the R6 parallel, discussed in comment h., below.

e. The vertical hieroglyph following the red crown is either a variant of , for *tj*, or else a substitution of shape for that sign; cf. R6, which writes .

f. The initial radical *h* of *hṭp* is written with the mouse, a value attested in other cryptic contexts⁴⁷⁹ and supported here by the R6 parallel, which writes . The second radical, *t*, is written with the bread loaf and cup (see §2.5, text A15, comment m.). The final *p* is written with the *pr*-house, reflecting the weakened pronunciation of final *r*,⁴⁸⁰ as attested in other cryptic contexts already on the second gilded shine of Tutankhamun, as well as later, from the tomb of Ramesses VI.⁴⁸¹

g. The rampant serpent substitutes for the *d*-cobra (see §2.5, text A15, comment a.), plus the bread loaf and cup for *t*, as above.


h. “Lord of the sky” is well attested from the New Kingdom as an epithet of Re-Horakhty.⁴⁸² For this spelling, see §3.4, text T13, comments a–b.

i. The initial *h* is written with a variant of the normal sign , the final *p* with a variant of the *pr*-house, as in S1, discussed above. However, if the reading of *hṭp* is correct, then the medial radical *t* remains problematic. The S1 parallel employs the relatively transparent orthography of the bread loaf and cup, but the herb in R6 is not attested otherwise with the value *t*.⁴⁸³

j. The rampant serpent is employed as in S1 (comment g.). The cup writes *t*, substituting *pars pro toto* for the loaf and cup discussed above, as attested also in a cryptic text from the tomb of Ramesses IX.⁴⁸⁴

⁴⁷⁹ MANASSA, “Appendix of Cryptographic Values,” in DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 594; the derivation is unknown.

⁴⁸⁰ The shift is attested, albeit rarely, in Coptic, as seen in the prefix ΠΟΥ-, “house,” a weakened form of the more usual ΠΕΡ- (see W.E. CRUM, *Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford, 2000 reprint of 1939), 267a).

⁴⁸¹ DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 88 and n. 245, citing also Middle Kingdom exemplars discussed in A. ROCCATI, “Remarque sur le graphème  au Moyen Empire,” *RdÉ* 21 (1969), 151–53. Use of the *pr*-house for alphabetic *p* resurfaces later in the Ptolemaic texts at Edfu, for which see FAIRMAN, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 238, nr. 253; with additional references in D. KURTH, *Einführung*, vol. 1, 239, 1, n. 4.

⁴⁸² LEITZ, *Lexikon*, vol. 3, 624–25 [9, 19, 36, 50].



⁴⁸³ Cf. MANASSA, “Appendix of Cryptographic Values,” in DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 604–05. Attested values include *j*, *jb*, *b*, *r*, *h3*, *h*, *h*, *sw*, and *k*, none of which sheds any immediate light on the signs in the R6 text.


⁴⁸⁴ DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 315, d.

k. The *q*-hillock substitutes for the similarly shaped calf's head, found in S1. The herb writes the nisbe ending *-j*, as above (comment b.).

l. The falcon on a standard writes *ntr* by direct representation. The oar substitutes for the similarly shaped *ʿ3* column (cf. S1, which writes the normal sign).⁴⁸⁵

m. The term *hy* (var. *h*, *hj*, *hjj*), “child,”⁴⁸⁶ is attested from the New Kingdom as an epithet of the sun god Re-Horakhty.⁴⁸⁷ The spelling here employs the flowering herb for *h*, as a substitution of kind for the *h3*-plant,⁴⁸⁸ which sign is attested also in non-cryptic, group writing with the consonantal value *h*.⁴⁸⁹ Significantly, the following child sign is also attested with the cryptic value *h*, derived from its use as a determinative for *hy*, “child.”⁴⁹⁰ In the present context, however, the child retains its normal value as a determinative: Such use is practically required, given the wide range of possible cryptic values for the preceding herb hieroglyph.⁴⁹¹

n. The term *b3* is attested as an epithet of Amun-Re-Horakhty from the New Kingdom and of Re-Horakhty from the Third Intermediate Period.⁴⁹² The cup here writes *b3*, substituting either for the similarly shaped *b3*-pot, ,⁴⁹³ or incense bowl .⁴⁹⁴ For this value, see also §3.4, text T16, comment f.

o. The sun god Re-Horakhty, or “Re-Horus of the Two Horizons,” appears frequently in the morning boat, and serves here as the diurnal counterpart to Atum, who rides in the evening craft (see text T13, above). The divine name is written with cryptic perturbation,⁴⁹⁵ as *3h.ty-R^c-Hr*. The two strips of land substitute for the dual horizons, , writing *3h.ty*, as attested frequently in non-cryptic spellings of the god's name.⁴⁹⁶ The next group, *R^c*, is spelled out fully, with the non-cryptic mouth for *r*, the *dsr*-arm for *ʿ*

⁴⁸⁵ The oar also occurs with the value *ʿ3* in §2.3, A9, comment f, above.

⁴⁸⁶ *Wb* III, 217.3–8.

⁴⁸⁷ LEITZ, *Lexikon*, vol. 5, 615–16 [3].

⁴⁸⁸ See DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 22 (b), and 68, n. 144.


⁴⁸⁹ GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, 480, sign M12.

⁴⁹⁰ DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 22, n. 34; MÜLLER-ROTH, *Buch vom Tage*, 455, A17.


⁴⁹¹ See discussion of the problematic exemplar in comment i., above.



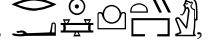
⁴⁹² LEITZ, *Lexikon*, vol. 2, 658–59 [20 and 22, respectively].





⁴⁹³ See GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, 528, signs O10* and (Aa4).

⁴⁹⁴ GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, 501, sign R7. Also note that the cup itself might be read with the alphabetic value *b*, by consonantal principle from *j^cb*, “cup” (*Wb* I, 10.10–11), or even as *b3*, from *bj3*, exploiting an attested non-cryptic substitution for  (see GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, 528, sign O10).

⁴⁹⁵ For this practice, see VIKENTIEV, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 120.

⁴⁹⁶ *Wb* I, 18.3: .

(substitution of kind, for ) and the disc as a determinative, transposed with the arm for graphic reasons. The Horus element is written with the road sign, derived by consonantal principle from *hr.t*, “road,”⁴⁹⁷ as attested in both cryptic and non-cryptic contexts.⁴⁹⁸ The full cryptic spelling of *Rc-Hr-3h.ty* as  may be compared with non-cryptic spellings of the god’s name, e.g.,  from the twelfth hour of the Amduat.⁴⁹⁹

p. The damaged text in Mt is difficult, if not impossible, to interpret with any confidence. Nevertheless, the similarities of shape and kind between  and , as found in R6, is immediately apparent. In addition, the arm holding a cup, , might substitute plausibly for the cup alone, which is employed in the R6 parallel with the values *t* and *b3* (see comments f. and n.). The restoration of  as *h[tp]* is merely an educated guess, based on the normal value in group writing for the *h3*-plant⁵⁰⁰ and the occurrence of the infinitive *hṭp* in both of the earlier parallels.




⁴⁹⁷ *Wb* III, 144.5–6.

⁴⁹⁸ See GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, 489, sign N31; DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 66–67; WERNING, “Aenigmatische Schreibungen,” 146, N31.


⁴⁹⁹ HORNUNG, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, *Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 15 (Genève, 1994), 805.

⁵⁰⁰ GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, 481, sign M16.

a. Written with the double crown atop a *nb*-basket, as a direct representation of the emblems of kingship, literally over “all.”⁵⁰² This composite hieroglyph is pregnant with meaning. In addition to *njsw.t-bj.tj*, the double crown might also be read as *Hrw*, “Horus,” the personification of divine kingship, made manifest in the emblems of terrestrial rule. Significantly, the double crown occurs with the latter value in the five-fold enigmatic

titulary at the center of the tableau, where  appears in both the “Horus” and “Horus of Gold” epithets (§3.6, text T21, comments a. and i.). The latter sign incidentally provides a clue to the significance of the *nb*-basket in the present text. In many cryptographic texts, standing and seated figures adorned with various emblems of rule often write the word *nb*, “lord,” as direct representations of an individual invested with authority.⁵⁰³ In the present text, the *nb*-hieroglyph itself appears to wear the crown—a remarkable extension of the sign’s normal rebus value. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the double crown can also be read as either *h^c.w*, “appearances” (by rebus from the homophone designating “crowns”) or *t3.wy*, “two lands” (as a graphic variant of ).⁵⁰⁴ These readings, in conjunction with the basket sign, allow the interpretation of the initial group as either *nb t3.wy* or *nb h^c.w*. Of course, the fact that a sign can be read in many ways does not imply that the inscription was intended to be vague or imprecise in its meaning.⁵⁰⁵ Rather, the semiotic complexities of the hieroglyph  and its range of possible meanings draw the reader into the ideology of kingship itself, before arriving at the most, indeed the only, plausible reading. In the present case, we can exclude both *nb t3.wy* and *nb h^c.w*, since those titles are written explicitly in the following two groups (comments b–c.). By the same token, we can exclude *Hrw*, since neither of the former titles typically follow directly after the Horus name. Thus, the only plausible interpretation of this initial group is as a writing of *njsw.t-bj.tj*.

b. The falcon here writes *nb*, “lord,” a value which is also attested later, in Ptolemaic Egyptian.⁵⁰⁶ This use probably derives originally from the divine falcon used as a determinative in archaic spellings of *nb*, dating back


⁵⁰² Cf. the use of , without the *nb*-basket, as a writing of *njsw.t-bjtj*, in FAIRMAN, *BIFAO* 43 (1945), 99–100, who identifies this type of emblematic substitution as “metonymy,” in which “a sign is used for the thing meant.”



⁵⁰³ Cf. DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 26, c, and n. 62.

⁵⁰⁴ *Wb* III, 241.17–19 (Dyn. 19 and later).

⁵⁰⁵ FAIRMAN, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 258.

⁵⁰⁶ See P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 501.



to the Old Kingdom.⁵⁰⁷ In addition, it might also evoke mythological allusions to Horus and Seth as *nb.wy*, the “Two Lords.”⁵⁰⁸ The next sign, a papyrus with symmetrical, flowering shoots, , substitutes for the plant emblems of Upper and Lower Egypt, as a writing of *t3.wy*, “two lands.” This reading is supported by the non-cryptic parallels R6 and R9, which both begin with the *nb t3.wy* epithet, and is reinforced also by the appearance of similar flowering plants in the laps of the paired fecundity figures, which demarcate the directional limits (west/south and east/north) of the personified cosmos through which the deceased travels (see Ch. 1).

c. The falcon again writes *nb*, “lord,” as discussed above. The *atef*-crown, , substitutes for the double crown, , as a logographic spelling of *h^c.w*, “crowns.”⁵⁰⁹ The latter word supplies the rebus value, *h^c.w*, “appearances,” completing the expected epithet, as found in the non-cryptic parallels, R6 and R9.


d. The “son of Re” epithet occurs immediately before Sety’s birth name, as found in other examples of that king’s enigmatic titulary at Abydos.⁵¹⁰ The hawk-headed god adorned with a disc writes the name of the sun god, Re, by direct representation. The simplest explanation for the speaking man as a writing of *s3*, “son,” is that the value derives by rebus from a homophonous root—preferably not too obscure—determined normally by that figure, e.g. *s3(j)*, “to be full, satisfied,” or *s3(3)*, “be wise.”⁵¹¹





⁵⁰⁷ Many examples in R. HANNIG, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I. Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit*, Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt 98 (Mainz, 2003), 607–13.

⁵⁰⁸ HANNIG, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I*, 613.


⁵⁰⁹ Cf. the use of the *atef* in conjunction with separate white and red crowns, i.e. , as a spelling of *h^c.w* in the enigmatic titulary of Sety I from the entrance hall to the cenotaph, in DRIOTON, *RdÉ* 2 (1936), 8 (“Protocole D”). Also cf. the ideographic spelling of *h^c.w*, “crowns,” as  cited in *Wb* III, 241.17–18 (identified as Dyn. 19 and later); and D. KURTH, *Einführung*, vol. 1, 376, 14, n. 55.

⁵¹⁰ See DRIOTON, *RdÉ* 2 (1936), 2–4, “Protocole A–B.”

⁵¹¹ See *Wb* IV, 14–16 (both roots attested since the Old Kingdom). Also cf. the Ptolemaic use of  as a writing of *s3*, “son” (D. KURTH, *Einführung*, vol. 1, 127, 3b). The Ptolemaic sign was probably understood as a direct representation of a male child, making the characteristic gesture of Harpocrates. If a biliteral value *s3* existed for the speaking child already in the New Kingdom, then a substitution of kind (one speaking figure for another) seems likely in the present context. If, on the other hand, the cryptic adult figure was derived by rebus from *s3(3)* or the like, as suggested above, then that sign might instead have conditioned the Ptolemaic use of the speaking child.

e. The cryptic spelling of Sety's name as , *St[y]*, surely represents a variant of , *Sty*, the orthography employed frequently on that king's monuments at Abydos and his tomb at Thebes.⁵¹² The initial element is written with the seated figure of Osiris, as a pious Abydene substitution for the normal Seth figure.⁵¹³ The following *tj.t*-amulet supplies the value *t* (or *tj*), via the consonantal principle, as a phonetic complement.⁵¹⁴ The third sign in the present text is damaged but appears to show a standing figure, reversed, and wearing the double crown with a slightly curved staff or stick in his right hand.⁵¹⁵ No comparable standing figure occurs in Sety's birth name in other enigmatic titularies from Abydos.⁵¹⁶ Unfortunately, any account of this sign must therefore remain hypothetical. Unless the damaged figure represents a determinative, some version of the radicals *j* or *y* is expected. In fact, virtually any anthropomorphic figure might write the former consonant, by rebus from the first person suffix, =*j*,⁵¹⁷ or the latter, by phonetic shift. Alternately, the damaged figure might depict a royal variant of  or , both of which occur in Ptolemaic Egyptian with the alphabetic value *j*, by consonantal rebus from *jsw*.⁵¹⁸

f. The *mr n* group is written normally, in honorific transposition with the seated god. The head of the latter figure has been lost but can be restored plausibly as that of Ptah, supplying the expected epithet.⁵¹⁹ An exact, un-





⁵¹² BRAND, *Monuments of Sety I*, 31; cf. the fully cryptic spelling  discussed above, in text T15, comment c.

⁵¹³ BRAND, *Monuments of Sety I*, 31. This explanation obviates that of DRIOTON, *RdÉ* 2 (1936), 4, n. 1, who derives the alphabetic value *s* from (*W*)*s(jr)* by “acrophonie consonantique.”

⁵¹⁴ DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 336 and n. 272.


⁵¹⁵ If the sign in fact depicts some version of a striking figure, it might have been reversed in order to redirect its aggressive stance away from the preceding figure of Osiris.

⁵¹⁶ Cf. DRIOTON, *RdÉ* 2 (1936), 2–4, “Protocole A–B.”



⁵¹⁷ The trend toward writing the first person suffix by direct representation has an ancient pedigree, going back at least as far as the Middle Kingdom, with increasing diversity from the Eighteenth Dynasty (see GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, 39, citing examples of , , , and female ). By the Ptolemaic period, the variety of signs that might be used was effectively unlimited, as shown in the examples from FAIRMAN, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 263–217 (74 variants of the first person).


⁵¹⁸ FAIRMAN, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 206, nrs. 29–30.



⁵¹⁹ Other theophoric elements are attested, albeit less often, with Sety's birth name, e.g. *mr n Jmn*, “beloved of Amun,” and *mr n R^c*, “Beloved of Re” (BRAND, *Monuments of Sety I*, 31). Although Ptah is encountered in this capacity most frequently, any seated deity could fit the damaged area.


damaged parallel to the latter figure occurs in another cryptic titulary from Abydos, from the chapel of Ptah-Sokar, where Sety's "beloved of Ptah" epithet employs  as a logographic spelling of the god's name.⁵²⁰


g. The scarab writes *nh*, an attested cryptic value derived from an archaic designation for the beetle.⁵²¹ The lump of clay substitutes for the pustule,⁵²² understood here as the stative ending =w,⁵²³ transposed for graphic reasons with the larger scarab sign. This group, together with the following word *d.t*, occurs in parallel to the stative *nh(=w) d.t*, which appears at the end of the corresponding caption labeling the royal figure in the evening barque (text T15, comment d.). In this regard, it is interesting to note how the scribe has manipulated the orthographic possibilities afforded by the cryptic script. Thus, the scarab, which precedes *d.t* here, as a writing of *nh*, occurs in the corresponding evening inscription with the mono-literal value *t*, as the gender marker for *d.t*.

h. The adverbial noun *d.t* is spelled normally, with the *mr*-canal substituting for the usual determinatives  and , through the interchange of similarly shaped (low, horizontal) land and water signs. The final stative *pr* employs the normal orthography. However, the description of the king as having been "equipped" is unexpected here and does not occur in the corresponding caption from the evening barque (text T15).

i. Ramesses VI, throne name, plus epithet: . The expected *m3^c.t* element has been shifted (in error?) into the adjacent cartouche for the birth name (see following comment).

j. Ramesses VI, birth name, plus epithet: . The *m3^c.t* figure has been shifted from its expected location, in the preceding throne name cartouche, and appears here in place of the usual *ms*-hieroglyph, .



k. Ramesses IX, throne name, plus epithet: .

l. Ramesses IX, birth name, plus epithet: .


⁵²⁰ DRIOTON, *RdÉ* 2 (1936), 4 ("Protocole B").


⁵²¹ DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 71 and n. 160; C. MANASSA, "Appendix of Cryptographic Values," 604, citing *Wb* I, 204.7–8.

⁵²² Thus reversing the attested, non-cryptic interchange mentioned in GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, 489, N32.

⁵²³ Derived presumably from spellings of *w.t*, "bandage" as  and , etc. (*Wb* I, 378.7–12, Dyn. 18 and later), which becomes *w* via the consonantal principle.

lowing dative $n=k$ is written with non-cryptic n plus the cow's hide for suffix $=k$, (see §3.4, text T14, comment b.). The cow's hide has been rotated for graphic congruence with the preceding, horizontal sign.

c. The restoration follows the corresponding, undamaged text from the evening barque, which writes  here (§3.4, text T16, comment f.).


d. Substitution of kind, for , followed by non-cryptic $h3$, plus the cow's hide for suffix $=k$, as above.

e. For this group, see §3.4, text T16, comment h., above.

f. See §2.5, text A15, comment a.

g. See §3.4, text T16, comment f.

Text T20: Morning barque, prow. Standing goddess (Ramesses VI only).

 $M3^c.t$,
“Ma’at.”

§3.6 Central axis

Text T21: Titulary.

S1 ⁵²⁷	R6	R9	Sh3	Mt

S1: *Hrw*^a *k3-nht*^b *h^c-m-W3s.t*^c *s^cnht-t3.wy*^d *nb.ty*^e *wḥm-ms.wt*^f *šḥm-ḥpš*^g *dr-pḏ.t-9*^h *Hrw-nbw*ⁱ *wḥm-ḥ^c.w*^j *wsr-pḏ.wt-m-t3(.w)-nb.w*^k *njsw.t-bj.tj Mn-m3^c.t-R^c*^l

“Horus: Strong bull, risen-in-Thebes, who causes to live the Two Lands. Two Ladies: Repeating births, mighty of forearm, who subdues the Nine Bows. Horus of gold: Repeating appearances, powerful of bows in all land(s). Dual king: Menmaatre.”

R6: *Hrw* | *k3 nht*^{c3} *nhtw s^cnht t3.wy* | *nb t3.wy (Nb-m3^c.t-R^c mrj Jmn)*^m

“Horus | Strong bull, great of strength, who causes to live the Two Lands | Lord of the Two Lands (Nebmaatre, beloved of Amun).”

R9: *Hrw* | *k3 nht h^c m W3s.t* | *nb t3.wy*

(*Nfr-k3 R^c stp n R^c*)ⁿ *nb h^c.w (R^c-ms-sw h^c m W3s.t mrr Jmn)*^o

“Horus | Strong bull, arisen in Thebes | Lord of the Two Lands (Neferkare, chosen of Re) | Lord of appearances (Ramesses, risen in Thebes, whom Amun loves).”


Sh3: *Hrw* | *k3 nht mstjw n R^c*⁵²⁸ [...] *njsw.t-bj.tj (Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c stp n R^c)*^p *s3 R^c (Ššn(q) mrj Jmn s3 B3st.t ntr ḥq3 Jwnw)*^q

“Horus: Strong bull, reincarnation of Re [...]. Dual king (Usermaatre, chosen of Re) | Son of Re (Sheshon(q), beloved of Amun, son of Bastet, god and ruler of Heliopolis).”



Mt: *ḥr(j.t)-šms.w(t)* [...]

“Chief of followers [...].”

a. The standing man, wearing the double crown and carrying a *w3s*-scepter, serves as a direct representation of Horus kingship; also see comment i., below.


b. The ithyphallic figure of *Jmn-k3-mw.t=f*, Amunkamutef, literally “Amun, bull of his mother,” substitutes for , one (metaphorical) bull for another. Drioton expresses considerable doubt—and proposes several novel explanations—as to how the following adjective *nht*, “strong,” was

⁵²⁸ For this spelling of Sheshonq’s epithet, see BONHÊME, *Noms royaux*, 114–15.

expressed.⁵²⁹ Without recourse to elaborate mythological allusions, I believe that the relatively simplest explanation is to view  as a substitution of kind for , the usual determinative and ideogram for *nht*, one standing male holding a weapon or tool for another.⁵³⁰ By this interpretation, Amunkamutef serves double duty, as a compact writing of both elements of the “strong bull” epithet. The encoding of *nht* into the figure of Amun might also be reinforced by the phonetic value of the flail itself (*nh3h3*),⁵³¹ as well as by the object (an oar?) that “hangs” (*nh3*) from the god’s upraised hand.⁵³²

c. The twin figures of Amun, crowned with double plumes and carrying *w3s*-scepters, allude surely to the that god as the main divinity of Thebes, as Drioton states correctly.⁵³³ However, it is difficult to understand why two such figures were employed to convey the “risen in Thebes” epithet in this case.⁵³⁴

d. The kneeling fecundity figure, crowned with marsh plants and carrying a tray of offerings, writes *s^cnh-t3.wy*, as a direct representation of that which “causes the two lands to live,” the personified bounty of the Nile.⁵³⁵

e. The paired goddesses wear the red crown of Lower Egypt and the *atef*-crown, as a substitution of kind for the white crown of Upper Egypt. These two figures serve as an anthropomorphic variant of , the “two ladies,” Nekhbet and Wadjet.

f. Direct representation of the moon god, as one who “repeats births.”⁵³⁶

⁵²⁹ DRIOTON, *RdÉ* 2 (1936), 12–13, c, attempting to explain both *nht* and the following group, *h^c-m-w3s.t*, by means of the twin Amun figures, discussed in comment c., above.

⁵³⁰ I.e. the club of the striking man for the flail of Amun; the latter object balances on the god’s upraised hand, a typical iconographic convention for representations of ithyphallic Amun-Min (P. NEWBERRY, “The Shepherd’s Crook and the So-Called “Flail” or “Scourge” of Osiris,” *JEA* 15 (1929), 89, identifying the flail as an instrument for collecting the gum-resin *ladanum* in *ibid.*, 90–94; see also H.G. FISCHER, “Geißel,” in W. Helck and W. Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden, 1977), col. 516).






⁵³¹ *Wb* II, 306.11–14.

⁵³² Cf. CT VII 62q: “Osiris N., take the Eye of Horus that hangs (*nh3.t*) from the hand of his child(ren).” If the object in the present scene was understood likewise as feminine (e.g. *hp.t*, “oar”) then its description as *nh3.t*, “that which hangs,” would supply a near-perfect homophone for *nht*, “strong,” through reduction of root-final *aleph*.

⁵³³ DRIOTON, *RdÉ* 2 (1936), 12–13.

⁵³⁴ DRIOTON, *RdÉ* 2 (1936), 13.

⁵³⁵ For the equivalence of the fecundity figure and the *s^cnh-t3.wy* epithet in the Horus name of Sety I, see BAINES, *Fecundity Figures*, 336.

g. The figure  presents a variant of the striking man, , employed normally as a determinative for *shm*.⁵³⁷ In Frankfort's drawing, the man holds a *hm*-club, , as a probable substitution of shape for the *hps*-leg, .⁵³⁸ Alternately, it is conceivable that the *hm*-club substitutes for the *shm*-club, , with the man's upraised, empty arm as a substitution of kind for *hps*-leg, i.e. one forelimb for another.⁵³⁹

h. Direct representation. The smiting king serves as a compact illustration of Sety's epithet, "He-who-subdues the Nine bows."

i. The standing figure wearing the double crown again writes "Horus," as discussed above (comment a.). The following Hathor-figure serves as a direct representation of a "lady," i.e. *nb.t*, which acquires the phonetic value *nbw* through weakening of the feminine gender marker.⁵⁴⁰

j. Direct representation, as a pun on the root *h^c.w*, meaning both "appearances" and "crowns."⁵⁴¹ Amun places the Osirian *atef*-crown on the head of a male figure, literally "repeating" the coronation and appearance of the king on earth, now in the afterlife.

k. A problematic group. Drioton suggests that the initial element of the expected epithet, *wsr*, derives from the Osirian *atef*-crown discussed in the preceding note, i.e. as an emblem of the god, writing the name *Ws(j)r*.⁵⁴² For the following word, *pd.wt*, Drioton suggests a phonetic spelling, consisting of the god Ptah for *p* (by acrophony, from *Pth*), the mostly destroyed figure in the lacuna for *d*, and the vulture for *t*, as attested in Ptole-

⁵³⁶ For this iconography of the moon god (*j^ch*), see LEITZ, *Lexikon*, vol. 1, 147 [15, 80–81, 83–84, 89, 117]. For descriptions of the moon as a "repeater of births," see references in DRIOTON, *RdÉ* 2 (1936), 13, n. 6. Also cf. descriptions of the deceased being (re-)born (*ms*) like the moon, cited in LEITZ, *Lexikon*, vol. 1, 147 [8, 12, 54, 67].

⁵³⁷ *Wb* IV, 246–49. The explanation of this figure in DRIOTON, *RdÉ* 2 (1936), 14, g, as an acrophonic rebus from *sh(s) m hps*, "quelqu'un qui avec une cuisse," is both unnecessary and implausible.

⁵³⁸ The figure grasps the club nearer the center than the hieroglyphic transcription given above would suggest. Nevertheless, the object is probably not the *hps*-foreleg itself, contra DRIOTON, *RdÉ* 2 (1936), 14, g, and fig. 6, where the club has been re-drawn to resemble more closely the animal limb (cf. the original image in FRANKFORT et al., *Cenotaph*, pl. 74, reproduced below, in pl. 1).

⁵³⁹ The reverse substitution, i.e. foreleg for arm, is attested in Ptolemaic Egyptian (D. KURTH, *Einführung*, vol. 1, 225, 46, n. 168).

⁵⁴⁰ Cf. the use of a similar, standing Hathor figure with the value *nb*, "lord," in Ptolemaic texts from Edfu (P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 501), and seated Hathor figures, employed for the adjective *nb* at Dendera (CAUVILLE, *Dendara Index*, 261).

⁵⁴¹ *Wb* III, 241.13–19.

⁵⁴² DRIOTON, *RdÉ* 2 (1936), 14, i.

maic sources.⁵⁴³ That interpretation seems implausible. On the one hand, it requires that the first word of the present epithet be encoded into the spelling of the preceding epithet. This sort of “fuzzy” orthography would be highly unusual in any context but is certainly unattested otherwise in the present corpus. The second issue lies in DRIOTON’s derivation of alphabetic *p* from the divine name *Pth*, via the problematic technique of acrophony.⁵⁴⁴ The final difficulty, which is unfortunately insoluble, lies in the assignation of the value *ḏ* to the figure in the lacuna. As a possible alternative to Drioton’s reading, I would suggest that the immediate significance of the sign



lies not in the figure’s identity as Ptah, but rather in the object he carries, the *w3s*-scepter. That scepter can be understood as a simple substitution of kind for the *w3r*-staff, as the first word of the epithet. The second word, *pḏ.wt*, should therefore begin with the damaged sign in the lacuna. Since only the legs of an apparently male figure are preserved, little can be said about this sign other than that it must write at least some of the radicals of *pḏ.wt*. If the lacuna conceals *pḏ* alone, then the following vulture might write *t*, as Drioton suggests.⁵⁴⁵ If, however, the lacuna conceals an ideogram for the entire word *pḏ.wt*, then the vulture would write the preposition *m*, a consonantal substitution attested in other cryptic contexts.⁵⁴⁶ In either case, the following sign, an Osirian figure crowned with the atef and carrying a *w3s*-scepter, remains problematic. Drioton suggested that the figure “représente nécessairement *m*: c’est une acrophonie, difficile à déterminer, soit une titre d’Osiris.”⁵⁴⁷ Recourse to acrophony on the basis of a hypothetical title is, at best, a dubious solution. Unfortunately, no plausible alternatives can be offered, in light of the troublesome lacunae discussed above. Thankfully, however, the last elements of the epithet, *t3(.w) nb.w*, are relatively clear. The scarab writes *t*, as attested in earlier cryptic contexts as well as elsewhere in the present corpus.⁵⁴⁸ The following heron writes *3*, as a substitution of kind for the *aleph*-vulture.⁵⁴⁹ Finally, The three

⁵⁴³ DRIOTON, *RdÉ* 2 (1936), 15, k.

⁵⁴⁴ See Introduction, ‘A brief note on the cryptographic script’, above.

⁵⁴⁵ DRIOTON, *RdÉ* 2 (1936), 15, k. For this value in Ptolemaic Egyptian, derived as a substitution of kind for the *tjw*-buzzard, see FAIRMAN, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 227, nr. 184.

⁵⁴⁶ I.e., omitting the weak radicals of *mw.t* (DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 32).


⁵⁴⁷ DRIOTON, *RdÉ* 2 (1936), 15, k.


⁵⁴⁸ See above, §3.4, Text T15, comment c.


⁵⁴⁹ Also note the plausible reading in DRIOTON, *RdÉ* 2 (1936), 15, k, who interprets the scarab as *t3* (for which, see above, §3.4, Text T15, comment c.), with the heron as the plural marker *w*. If correct, however, the latter sign surely does not derive by acrophony from *wḏ*, a rare, Old Kingdom word for “crane” (*Wb* I, 407.14) but rather by a simple substitution of kind for the *w*-quail chick.


seated kings holding *hq3*-scepters write *nb.w*, as a direct representation of plural “lords,”⁵⁵⁰ used here as a rebus for the homophonous adjective “all.”


l. The red and white crowns write *njsw.t-bj.tj* as a direct representation of the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt, the emblems *par excellence* of dual kingship.⁵⁵¹ Sety’s throne name, *Mn-m3^c.t-R^c*, employs the obelisk for *mn*,⁵⁵² plus direct representations of Ma’at (*m3^c.t*) and the sun god (*R^c*).⁵⁵³

m. Ramesses VI, throne name, plus epithet: .

n. Ramesses IX, throne name, plus epithet: .

o. Ramesses IX, birth name, plus epithets: .

p. Sheshonq III, throne name, plus epithets: .

q. Sheshonq III, birth name, plus epithets: .

⁵⁵⁰ See §3.4, Text T13, comment b.

⁵⁵¹ For this value, see above, §2.5, Text A15, comment h., and cf. also §3.5, Text T18, comment a.

⁵⁵² A rebus, by consonantal principle, from *mnw*, “obelisk” (*Wb* II, 71.10).

⁵⁵³ For similar cryptic spellings of Menmaatre, see DRIOTON, *RdÉ* 2 (1936), 3, e (“Protocole A”), and 5, f (“Protocole B”).

⁵⁵⁴ For this spelling of the epithet *s3 B3st.t*, see BONHÊME, *Noms royaux*, 119, n. 3; for the reduced spelling of *ššn(q)*, see *ibid.*, 123, B, 1.

CHAPTER 4

FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS ON A MOST CONCISE BOOK OF THE UNDERWORLD AND SKY

§4.1 The status of the bi-partite tableau as a unified composition

The tableau depicting the awakening of Osiris by Horus and the transit of the solar barques appears to have been conceived as a unified and fixed composition, a cosmological “book,” whose content and context show affinities with the well known genres of Underworld Books and Books of the Sky.⁵⁵⁵ As an explicitly bi-partite composition, the AOTSB belongs to the iconographic tradition of so-called “later” Underworld Books.⁵⁵⁶ In addition, the tableau’s frequent pairing with the Books of the Sky and other astronomical representations suggests an inter-textual affinity with those compositions, indicative perhaps of an ideal layout, which was never exploited fully or consistently in any of the preserved exemplars (table 4.1).⁵⁵⁷

⁵⁵⁵ VON LIEVEN, *Grundriss*, vol. 1, 20, noting especially the shared architectural contexts of the Awakening scene with the Book of Nut and other cosmographic treatises in *ibid.*, 20–24.

⁵⁵⁶ For the formal iconographic distinction between the “earlier” (*Amduat* and Book of Gates) and “later” books (e.g. the Book of Caverns and Book of the Earth), see HORNUNG, *Books of the Afterlife*, 26–27; for caveats regarding these temporal qualifications, see ROBERSON, *Books of the Earth*, 4, nn. 26–32.

⁵⁵⁷ Cf., for instance, the rarely exploited, ideal layout of the *Amduat*, for which see F. ABITZ, *Pharao als Gott in den Unterweltsbüchern des Neuen Reiches*, OBO 146 (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1995), 43–50; with additional discussion in MANASSA, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 77–78.

Table 4.1 <i>Architectural context for the Awakening of Osiris and Transit of the Solar Barques</i> ⁵⁵⁸			
Source	Room	location	Contextually associated books, etc.
S1	Final transverse chamber	ceiling, south-east side	Ceiling, adjacent: Book of the Night. Ceiling, opposite: Book of Nut. Wall decoration (only west side preserved): Book of the Earth.
R6	Chamber H ⁵⁵⁹	ceiling	Ceiling, adjacent: none. Wall decoration: King and gods, hymn to Ma'at + BD 124–27 and 129.
R9	Sarc. chamber J	final/rear wall ⁵⁶⁰	Adjacent walls (left + right side, front): Book of the Earth/Caverns, gods. Ceiling: Book of the Day (abbreviated), Book of the Night (abbreviated).
Sh3	Burial chamber	south/rear wall ⁵⁶¹	Adjacent walls (all): Book of the Night, BD 125 judgment. Ceiling: Astronomical.
Mt	Chamber I	south/rear wall	Adjacent walls (north, east, and west): Book of Gates (conclusion), Book of the Earth, Amduat (abbreviated). Ceiling: Astronomical.
	Chamber III	north/rear wall	Adjacent walls: Apotropaic gods in shrines + PT 364, 412, 593, 677. Ceiling: Book of Hours (abbreviated).
	Chamber IV	south/rear wall	Adjacent walls (north, east + west): Book of Gates (conclusion), apotropaic gods in shrines + PT 364, 412, 677, Osirian litany. Ceiling: Book of the Night, Book of Nut.

⁵⁵⁸ Table adapted from VON LIEVEN, *Grundriss*, vol. 1, 20–24; with additional material from PIANKOFF, *Ramesses VI*, 319–25; ASSMANN, *Mutirdis*, 14–15; and ROULIN, “Les tombes royales de Tanis: Analyse du programme décoratif,” 250–54.

⁵⁵⁹ The small room immediately prior to the sarcophagus hall.

⁵⁶⁰ I.e., the wall opposite the entrance to the sarcophagus hall. On the disjunction of cardinal alignment from the internal/symbolic orientation of figures in royal tombs of the New Kingdom, see F. ABITZ, “Die Entwicklung der Grabachsen in den Königsgräbern im Tal der Könige,” *MDAIK* 45 (1989), 1–25; R. WILKINSON, “Symbolic Location and Alignment in New Kingdom Royal Tombs and their Decoration,” *JARCE* 31 (1994), 79–86; and ROBERSON, *Books of the Earth*, 24–25, with additional references.

⁵⁶¹ The identification of the south wall as the “rear” of the rectangular burial chamber is based upon the orientation of the sarcophagus, the head end of which points toward the south wall.

The status of the AOTSB as a fixed composition is evident also in the high degree of iconographic and textual uniformity observed over nearly seven hundred years, from the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasty versions of Sety I (S1) and Ramesses VI (R6), through the Twenty-Second Dynasty recension of Sheshonq III (Sh3), and the latest known, Twenty-Sixth Dynasty version of Mutirdis (Mt). These four exemplars exhibit a fixed sequence of major and minor figures, with little iconographic variation prior to version Mt (§4.3.3).⁵⁶² Textual variation among these sources consists mostly of minor orthographic changes, typical of the hieroglyphic script generally, or of alternative cryptic spellings for the same or very similar texts.⁵⁶³

In contrast to the general uniformity of versions S1, R6, Sh3, and Mt, the Twentieth Dynasty recension of Ramesses IX (R9) is noteworthy for its abbreviated sequence of minor figures and for the omission of many of the texts found in the more robust exemplars. The abbreviation found in R9 is characteristic of that king's tomb generally, as seen in other cosmological works, such as the Books of the Day and Night, which also appear in highly abbreviated form, with none of the traditional annotations.⁵⁶⁴ The Awakening and Transit scenes, by contrast, do include at least some of the cryptic and non-cryptic texts found in other sources and the content and orthography of these texts follows closely those of the more complete versions.⁵⁶⁵ This similarity, combined with palaeographic evidence that additional texts were planned originally but not executed in the final decoration,⁵⁶⁶ suggests that the artisans responsible for decorating Ramesses IX's tomb probably retained access to the full template, as employed in both earlier and later sources. The abbreviated version probably therefore owes

⁵⁶² Iconographic variations occur in five of the thirty-six small deities in the lower register: figure A1/3, Thoth, is equipped with a falcon head in Sh3, in place of the ibis found in the other recensions; figure A3/3 shows an interchange of graphically similar ichneumon- and crocodile-headed figures (see discussion at comment a.); figure A4/4 exhibits a falcon head in S1, which becomes a frontal *hr*-face in later versions (see discussion at comment a.); figure A5/3, Ruti, "the double lion," appears with a human head in all versions except Mt, where the figure is lion-headed; and figure A5/4, which shows variation in all sources.

⁵⁶³ Thus, e.g. figure A4/2 is designated *thn-hr* in S1 and R6 but *thn-jb* (substitution of similarly shaped signs) in Sh3 and Mt (see comment b.).

⁵⁶⁴ See ABITZ, *SAK* 17(1990), 30–31; and *ibid.*, "The Structure of the Decoration in the Tomb of Ramesses IX," in C.N. Reeves (ed.), *After Tutankhamun: Research and Excavation in the Royal Necropolis at Thebes* (London, 1992), 173–74.

⁵⁶⁵ See Texts A9, T4–7, T9–11, T15, T18, and T21.

⁵⁶⁶ See Text A1/1, n. 81; §2.2, n. 187; Text A15, n. 310; and Text T12, n. 406.

its peculiarities to changes in the decorative program of that king's monument,⁵⁶⁷ rather than to any changes to the AOTSB template itself.

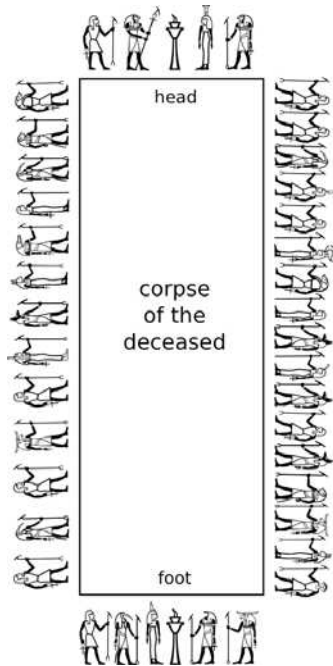


Figure 4.1: Sarcophagus of Merneptah / Psusennes, interior sides. Schematic diagram showing relative placement of deities.

The sequence of minor figures from the lower register also appears on the re-used, Nineteenth / Twenty-first Dynasty sarcophagus of Merneptah / Psusennes and the Ptolemaic coffin of Khaf.⁵⁶⁸ It seems probable that these excerpted figures represent *pars pro toto* substitutions for the complete Awakening of Osiris scene.⁵⁶⁹ This possibility is particularly evident on the re-carved sarcophagus of Merneptah/Psusennes (fig. 4.1), where the various gods appear in two files along the interior, long sides of the sarcophagus, to confront one another on either side of incense braziers at the head- and foot-end, with the latter identified in its caption as the “eye of Horus.”⁵⁷⁰ A hawk-headed figure appears on the head end, as the first deity in the longer file, and extends an *nh*-scepter and *w3s*-hieroglyph toward the smoking brazier. In this configuration, the body of the deceased lies in between the two files of deities, forming a three-

⁵⁶⁷ ABITZ, “Structure of the Decoration in the Tomb of Ramesses IX,” 165–68, notes three distinct sequences, including execution of the original decorative plan, followed by a long interruption of work due apparently to lack of funding, after which a second phase begins, showing substantial alteration to traditional sequences of cosmological scenes and BD spells, and a final phase in which the decoration was hastily completed “in the short time between the death and funeral of the king.”

⁵⁶⁸ See discussion in Ch. 2, “Annotations to the scenes in the Lower Register,” above.

⁵⁶⁹ The sarcophagi provide no figures or texts alluding obviously to the Transit of the Solar Barques. For the phenomenon of *pars pro toto* substitution, outlined originally with regard to Book of the Dead papyri of the Third Intermediate Period, see NIWINSKI, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri*, 19–24, §§13–14; for the *pars pro toto* principle on coffins of the Third Intermediate Period, their original divergence from material recorded on accompanying papyri, and the gradual convergence of decorative motifs on those two sources by the late 21st and early 22nd Dynasties, see *ibid.*, 219–28, §66.

⁵⁷⁰ See MONTET, *Tombeau de Psousennès*, pls. 90–93. Texts describing the presentation of the Eye of Horus to Osiris appear on the north wall of the burial chamber, for which see ROULIN, “Les tombes royales de Tanis: Analyse du programme décoratif,” 208–10.

dimensional analog for the awakened Osiris, as depicted in the two-dimensional, bi-partite tableau.⁵⁷¹

§4.2 The original date of composition

Assigning original dates of composition to the various cosmological treatises of the New Kingdom—the so-called Underworld Books and Books of the Sky—constitutes a perennial and occasionally vexing point of contention for scholars, due to the wholly circumstantial nature of the evidence.⁵⁷² As HORNUNG noted long ago, the first steps in assigning dates of composition must lie in detailed analyses of content and grammar.⁵⁷³ BAUMANN undertook the latter task in his comparative study of the verbal system employed in several Underworld Books.⁵⁷⁴ However, that work revealed an admixture of Old and Middle Egyptian features, versus relatively few Late Egyptian features, with evidence for multiple stages of composition indicating that “the grammar of the Underworld Books obviously cannot be

⁵⁷¹ ROULIN, “Les tombes royales de Tanis: Analyse du programme décoratif,” 205. The influence of the original template is much less evident on the distribution of figures from the Ptolemaic coffin of Khaf, which has lost both the head and foot ends, and where the figures from the Awakening scene are interspersed with various other texts and deities (see Ch. 2, n. 80).

⁵⁷² No model texts (*Vorlage*), illustrations, or other templates for any Underworld Books or Books of the Sky, which might constitute definitive proof for the existence of such compositions prior to their earliest known attestations, have been discovered so far. For summaries of earlier studies dealing with the problematic dates of composition for the various Underworld Books, etc., see DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 467–68; MÜLLER-ROTH, *Buch vom Tage*, 541–44; ROBERSON, *Books of the Earth*, 457; and, more generally, HORNUNG, *Books of the Afterlife*, 169–82; against the “positivist” views (see following note) of HORNUNG, ROULIN, and ZEIDLER, see J.F. QUACK, review of ROULIN, *Livre de la nuit*, in *WdO* 28 (1997), 178–80; and *ibid.*, review of ZEIDLER, *Pfortenbuchstudien*, in *BiOr* 57 (2000), 547–59; following QUACK, see also VON LIEVEN, *Grundriss*, vol. 1, 205–17, for considerations on the use of papyrus *Vorlage* versus monumental inscription. Also cf. P. DER MANUELIAN, *Living in the Past. Studies in Archaisms of the Egyptian Twenty-Sixth Dynasty* (London, 1994), 55, for the distinction between *Vorlage*, as an “intermediary prototype or pattern,” and *Musterbücher*, as “archival catalogue[s] of scene[s],” versus the more cautious English term “model.”

⁵⁷³ E. HORNUNG, *Ägyptische Unterweltbücher* (Zurich and Munich: Artemis, 1972), 17; more recently, see VON LIEVEN, *Grundriss*, vol. 1, 223–50, §2.2.1, who offers a detailed discussion of the three main approaches to the dating of cosmological books: “positivistic” (*positivistische*), based upon the earliest known attestation, “ideological-historical,” (*geistesgeschichtlich*), based upon the texts’ content relative to Egyptian intellectual history, and “diachronic” (*sprachhistorisch*) based upon identification of historically diagnostic features of grammar, vocabulary, and phonemics.

⁵⁷⁴ BAUMANN, *Suffix Conjugation*, 444–53 and *passim*.

used to prove definitively the original date of composition.”⁵⁷⁵ More recently, in a comprehensive study of the Book of Nut, VON LIEVEN argued that the majority of the texts from that composition date to the Old Kingdom, on the basis of a “relatively uniform” distribution of earlier Egyptian grammar, orthography, and vocabulary.⁵⁷⁶ In a seminal study of stock phraseology from the *Amduat* and Book of Gates, WENTE argued that the former text, at least, must have been employed originally by the living in non-funerary contexts and must, therefore, pre-date its earliest occurrences in the New Kingdom royal tombs.⁵⁷⁷ From the realm of archaeology, recent studies of royal tomb architecture from the Middle Kingdom have provided indirect evidence for the existence of at least some hours of the *Amduat* already in the Twelfth Dynasty.⁵⁷⁸ Additional support for these conclusions has been proposed on the basis of private, magical iconography.⁵⁷⁹ The combined weight of these disparate pieces of evidence supports the notion that portions of some cosmological books probably originated significantly prior to their first occurrences in the New Kingdom.⁵⁸⁰ However, the as-

⁵⁷⁵ BAUMANN, *Suffix Conjugation*, 452–53. For caveats regarding some of Baumann’s conclusions regarding supposedly genuine Old Egyptian elements, see JANSEN-WINKELN, *SAK* 32 (2004), 205–10; and ROBERSON, *Books of the Earth*, 112–15, 457–59.

⁵⁷⁶ VON LIEVEN, *Grundriss*, vol. 1, 251–54.

⁵⁷⁷ E. WENTE, “Mysticism in Pharaonic Egypt?” *JNES* 41 (1982), 161–79, expressing preference for a “Middle Kingdom or even First Intermediate Period date” (*ibid.*, 176 and n. 119, with additional references).

⁵⁷⁸ U. RÖBLER-KÖHLER, “Königliche Vorstellungen zu Grab und Jenseits im Mittleren Reich, Teil I: Ein ‘Gottesbegräbnis’ des Mittleren Reiches in königlichem Kontext: Amduat 4. und 5. Stunde,” in Rolf Gundlach and Wilfried Seipel (eds.), *Das frühe ägyptische Königtum, Akten des 2. Symposiums zur ägyptischen Königsideologie in Wien* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999), 73–96; L. GESTERMANN, “Königliche Vorstellungen zu Grab und Jenseits im Mittleren Reich, Teil II: Osirisgräber des Mittleren Reiches in königlichem Kontext: Amduat 6. Stunde,” in Rolf Gundlach and Wilfried Seipel (eds.), *Das frühe ägyptische Königtum, Akten des 2. Symposiums zur ägyptischen Königsideologie in Wien* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999), 97–110; J. WEGNER, “The Tomb of Senwosret III at Abydos and Considerations on the Development of the Royal Amduat-Tomb,” in David P. Silverman, William Kelly Simpson, and Josef Wegner (eds.), *Archaisms and Innovation: Studies in the Culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt* (New Haven and Philadelphia: Yale and University of Pennsylvania Museum, 2009), 103–69.

⁵⁷⁹ ROBERSON, “Early History,” 427–45.

⁵⁸⁰ Very rarely, more “concrete” data corroborate dates of composition prior to first attestations, e.g. the apparently Middle Kingdom astronomical dates found in the Book of Nut (VON LIEVEN, *Grundriss*, vol. 1, 223, §2.2, and n. 1201, citing already O. NEUGEBAUER and R. PARKER, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* (Providence and London, 1960–69), vol. 3, 54; also cf. discussion of the Ramessid star clock dates, estimated to be some three hundred years earlier than their earliest preserved sources, in *ibid.*, vol. 2, 9). In such cases, one might interpret the evidence for early dates as indicative of multiple stages of composition, in which some episodes, illustrations, texts, and even whole books are

semblage and codification of these materials into unified compositions with fixed patterns of illustration—cosmological “books,” properly speaking—should not be assigned early dates based merely upon the existence of their disparate antecedents. In fact, aside from the plausible, pre-New Kingdom origins suggested for portions of the *Amduat* and Book of Nut, a majority of recent studies of the remaining Books of Underworld and Sky have upheld the “positivist” interpretation,⁵⁸¹ according to which the relevant, fixed compositions originated not long before their earliest, respective attestations.⁵⁸²

With regard to the present corpus, the grammar of the various inscriptions is uniformly Middle Egyptian. The language exhibits no characteristic features of Late Egyptian, nor any preponderance of features to suggest a genuinely archaic (i.e. pre-New Kingdom) date of composition.⁵⁸³ Potentially revealing in this regard is the occurrence of the archaizing “Proclitic Pronoun Construction.”⁵⁸⁴ Although the historical origins of this form probably date back to the early Middle Kingdom,⁵⁸⁵ its preponderance in New Kingdom cosmological texts seems to represent a separate development, approximately contemporary with the early Eighteenth Dynasty.⁵⁸⁶

likely older than others (See the useful discussion of “patchwork methods” (*Patchworkverfahren*) of composition and editing in VON LIEVEN, *Grundriss*, vol. 1, 245–46; and cf., for instance, MÜLLER-ROTH, *Buch vom Tage*, 542–43; and also MANASSA, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, vol. 1, 441–45, for a discussion of the Late Period concept of the “interchangeability of parts,” by which new Underworld Books were created from selections of older material).

⁵⁸¹ See nn. 572–73, above, and the following note.

⁵⁸² Thus, ROULIN, *Livre de la Nuit*, vol. 1, 356–59 (end of the Eighteenth Dynasty versus first appearance in the early Nineteenth); J. ZEIDLER, *Pfortenbuchstudien*, Göttinger Orientforschungen IV. Reihe Ägypten 36 (Wiesbaden, 1999), vol. 1, 246 (late-Eighteenth Dynasty, Amenhotep III through Amarna Period, versus first appearance under Horemheb); DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 467–71 (mid-Seventeenth to early-Eighteenth Dynasty versus first appearance in the later Eighteenth); WERNING, *Höhlenbuch*, 247–49, 261–62 (contemporary with first appearance, reign of Sety I to Merneptah); ROBERSON, *Books of the Earth*, 457–59 (various recensions approximately contemporary with first appearances).

⁵⁸³ Note the conspicuously singular occurrence of the Old Egyptian passive infix *.tj*, interpreted above as an archaizing, rather than genuinely archaic, usage (§2.5, Text A15, comment m).

⁵⁸⁴ Text A15, comments d. and l.

⁵⁸⁵ ROBERSON, “Observations,” 186–88, with additional references and discussion. Also cf. VON LIEVEN, *Grundriss*, vol. 1, 252, who notes that the lack of unambiguous examples from the Old Kingdom might result merely from the general dearth of narrative texts written in Old Egyptian.

⁵⁸⁶ See JANSEN-WINKELN, *SAK* 32 (2004), 220–21; and ROBERSON, “Observations,” 194–95. Contra VON LIEVEN, *Grundriss*, vol. 1, 278, who argues in circular fashion that the language of a majority of New Kingdom cosmological texts is genuinely archaic and

Alongside the grammar, we must consider also the texts' frequent use of the so-called "normal" cryptographic script.⁵⁸⁷ Rebus spellings and short words or passages in the cryptic script are attested as far back as the Old Kingdom.⁵⁸⁸ However, the composition of longer passages in "normal" cryptography appears to represent a development from orthographic experiments of the Second Intermediate Period at Thebes, which continued through the later Eighteenth Dynasty and the reign of Amenhotep III.⁵⁸⁹ Thus, it is unlikely that the extensive use of "normal" cryptography in the present texts should substantially antedate the latter period.

Regarding the iconography of the two scenes, as discussed in Ch. 1, the horizontally prone figure of Osiris finds an earlier parallel in the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity, as attested first on the second gilded shrine of Tutankhamun. In the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty, prone mummiform figures occur already in the Litany of Re, but these figures exhibit a vertical orientation, appearing to balance on their outstretched toes. The present figure therefore appears to belong to a post-Amarna tradition. Perhaps most telling in this regard is the centrally placed royal titulary, inscribed beneath the winged solar disc in the upper register.⁵⁹⁰ This text includes the king's Horus name as a vertical column of text connecting the disc above with the prows of the solar boats, which carry the king and the sun god. Clearly, the intent is to stress the identification of the king in the upper register with the sun itself.⁵⁹¹ More to the point, the name is also flanked by a descending cascade of *nh* and *dd* hieroglyphs, stressing the connection between the king and the sun's rays of light, which descend as "life" and "stability" to the realm below.⁵⁹² The light of the sun is also linked specifically with the transfigured Osiris-king in a cryptic speech of the Awakened Osiris, who watches the king depart as "one who is in the disc" and states "I am pro-

that the preponderance of "sw *sdm=f*" (i.e. Proclitic Pronoun) constructions in those texts argues therefore for the antiquity of the construction.

⁵⁸⁷ Texts A9–10, 15; T13–19; also cf. the elaborate "ornamental" titulary discussed in Text T21. For the terminology, see above, "Introduction: A brief note on the cryptographic script."

⁵⁸⁸ DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 17 and n. 12.

⁵⁸⁹ See DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 471 and n. 92.

⁵⁹⁰ See §3.6, Text T21.

⁵⁹¹ This theme is developed further in §4.3, below.

⁵⁹² Perhaps a solar re-interpretation of hieroglyphic libation, wherein *nh* hieroglyphs, et al., might be shown pouring from *hz*-vases in place of water, as attested already in the early Eighteenth Dynasty under Hatshepsut (A. GARDINER, "The Baptism of Pharaoh," *JEA* 36 (1950), 3–4, exs. B7–8).

tected, so that I might become exalted in the disc eternally, and so that I might shine on his behalf, (namely) Re.”⁵⁹³ The overt connection between the king and the life-giving light of the sun is particularly characteristic of the later Eighteenth Dynasty and Amarna Period. Already under Thutmose IV, the living king was identified explicitly as a manifestation of the solar disc.⁵⁹⁴ However, it was not until the reign of Akhenaten that the light of the sun-disc achieved its most striking iconographic representation, as descending rays terminating in human hands, which extend *nh*-hieroglyphs toward the nose of the king and his wife.⁵⁹⁵ Given that the Amarna-style sun disc still appears on early artifacts inscribed for Tutankhamun,⁵⁹⁶ the pious re-imagining of the sun’s life-giving rays as a cascade of hieroglyphs probably does not pre-date the early reign of Tutankhamun himself.

The final piece of evidence for the date of composition of the AOTSB lies in the context of its earliest exemplar, from the cenotaph of Sety I at Abydos. As discussed in the Introduction, the cenotaph includes no less than five previously unattested cosmological works: The Book of Caverns, Book of the Earth, Book of Night, Book of Nut, and the AOTSB itself. The sheer volume of cosmological material that occurs for the first time in that monument suggests that many of these newly attested compositions might have been composed specifically for the cenotaph. Furthermore, with the exception of the Book of Caverns, the new cosmological books all appear in the cenotaph’s final transverse chamber, the only room in which the decoration was pursued to completion during Sety’s lifetime.⁵⁹⁷ The fact that four of the five new compositions occur together in the same room and were executed from start to finish as a group, whose completion was apparently of paramount importance in Sety’s original decorative plan, supports the suggestion that those works were composed specifically for the cenotaph. Additional support, albeit an argument from silence, comes from a comparison of the cenotaph’s decoration with that of Sety’s tomb, in the

⁵⁹³ Text A15.

⁵⁹⁴ D. REDFORD, “The Sun-disc in Akhenaten’s Program: Its Worship and Antecedents, I,” *JARCE* 13 (1976), 51.

⁵⁹⁵ For the three-stage development of the abstract solar iconography of the *jtn* under Akhenaten, see REDFORD, *JARCE* 13 (1976), 53–56. Also see P. DERCHAIN, “Anchzeichen,” in W. Helck and E. Otto (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden, 1975), col. 269, who notes the convergence of meaning in the life giving rays of the Aten and hieroglyphic libation, mentioned above.

⁵⁹⁶ E.g. A. PIANKOFF, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*, Bollingen Series XL, vol. 2 (New York, 1955), 15, fig. 42.

⁵⁹⁷ FRANKFORT et al, *Cenotaph*, vol. 1, 9–10; BRAND, *Monuments of Seti I*, 177–78.

Valley of the Kings (KV17). In the latter monument, the principle cosmological decoration consisted of an astronomical ceiling and excerpts from the *Amduat*, both attested since the early Eighteenth Dynasty, and the Book of Gates, introduced in the terminal Eighteenth Dynasty, under Horemheb. One is struck by the fact that *none* of the newly attested cosmological texts from the cenotaph were employed in the decoration of Sety's actual burial site. If the AOTSB, Book of the Earth, Book of Nut, etc., had all existed substantially prior to the Nineteenth Dynasty, only to be monumentalized for the first time under Sety,⁵⁹⁸ it becomes difficult to understand why that king chose not to employ any of those same texts for the benefit of his actual burial site. If, on the other hand, the new cosmological works were designed specifically for the cenotaph,⁵⁹⁹ as decoration for the ritual burial of the great god Osiris, then the fact of their omission from KV17 appears less troubling. In fact, none of the new cosmological texts begin to appear in conventional royal burials until nearly a century after Sety's death. It is only gradually, from the reign of Sety's second successor and grandson, Merneptah, that the cosmological texts introduced in the cenotaph at Abydos gradually make their way into the standard repertoire of royal tomb decoration.⁶⁰⁰

With regard to the Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques, the available evidence for an original date of composition may be summarized as follows:

⁵⁹⁸ Thus, VON LIEVEN, *Grundriss*, vol. 1, 253–54.

⁵⁹⁹ Alternately, re-designed, consolidated, or updated with illustrations, in order to adapt pre-existing material to the divine temple/ritualized tomb context of the cenotaph.

⁶⁰⁰ See WERNING, *Höhlenbuch*, vol. 1, 15–50; VON LIEVEN, *Grundriss*, vol. 1, 15–19; ROULIN, *Livre de la Nuit*, 1–21; and ROBERSON, *Books of the Earth*, 9–11; for a concise overview of sources, see also HORNUNG, *Books of the Afterlife*, 83 (Caverns), 95–96 (Earth), 113 (Nut), and 122–23 (Night).

<i>Grammar</i>	“Middle Egyptian Proclitic Pronoun Construction”	Origins in Middle Kingdom, extremely rare before Dyn. 18
<i>Orthography</i>	Extensive use of “normal” cryptography	Dyn. 18, Amenhotep III or later
<i>Iconography</i>	Amarna-influenced sun disc with descending rays of “life”	Terminal Dyn. 18, post-Amarna, Tutankhamun or later
<i>Context</i>	Constellation of newly attested scenes and texts at Cenotaph of Sety I	Dyn. 19, reign of Sety I

Taken together, these observations suggest that the scenes and texts of the bi-partite tableau do not predate the Eighteenth Dynasty and probably represent a development of post-Amarna theology, initiated under the aegis of Sety I, as part of the innovative decorative program for his cenotaph at Abydos.

§4.3 Function and meaning in the Book of the Awakened Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques

The texts and images of the bi-partite tableau represent a concise theological blueprint for the relationship between the living and dead kings, the god of the dead, Osiris, and the sun god, Re.⁶⁰¹ As such, the composition may be viewed from two interconnected and overlapping vantage points: As a cosmograph, i.e. a diagram of the temporal and spatial matrix of the created world, within which the human and divine dramas unfold (§4.3.1); and as a mythological blueprint for royal succession and apotheosis, predicated upon the re-incarnation of Horus, the resurrection of Osiris, and the cyclical union of the latter god with Re (§4.3.2).⁶⁰²

4.3.1 *The structure of the cosmograph*

The function of the bi-partite tableau as a schematic map of the cosmos is explicit in the iconography of the upper and lower registers (see pls. 1–4).

⁶⁰¹ For a discussion of Egyptian concepts linking the king, Osiris, and Re as cosmic forces, see S. WIEBACH-KOEPKE, *Sonnenlauf und kosmische Regeneration. Zur Systematik der Lebensprozesse in den Unterweltbüchern*, Ägypten und altes Testament 71 (Wiesbaden, 2007), 24–34, 197–207.

⁶⁰² ASSMANN, *Mutirdis*, 15, compares the fusion of Solar and Osirian resurrection motifs in the bi-partite tableau to the programmatic concluding representations found, e.g., in the twelfth hour of the Amduat, Book of Gates, et al., for which see also E. HORNING, “Zu den Schlusszenen der Unterweltbücher,” *MDAIK* 37 (1981), 217–26.

The cosmograph is defined by three directional axes: East–West, labeled as such by the respective directional emblems and captions naming the eastern and western horizons (§§3.2–3, Texts T3 and T8); North–South, identifiable through the opposing files of minor deities in the upper register, the gods “who are in the northern/southern sky” (Texts T4–7 and T9–12); and Below–Above, corresponding to the two registers, with Osiris below, in the hidden realm of the Dead,⁶⁰³ and the sun above, in the visible sky.⁶⁰⁴ In this way, the three-dimensional, conceptual sphere of the created world has been “flattened” into a two-dimensional, schematic diagram, according to the conventions of Egyptian figural representation (fig. 4.3.1).⁶⁰⁵

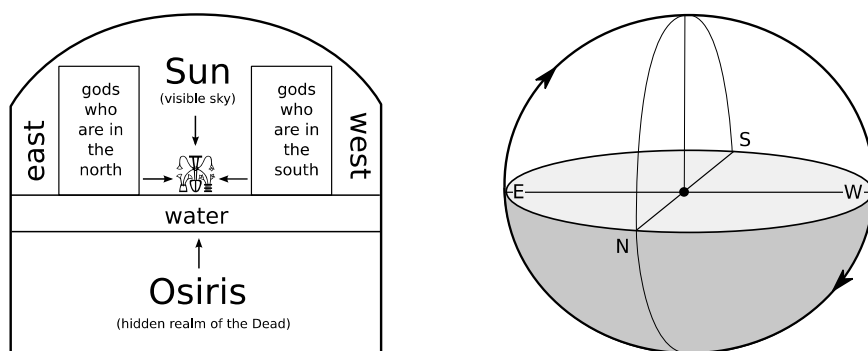


Figure 4.3.1: The bi-partite tableau as cosmograph and its three-dimensional analog (arrows indicate direction of solar travel).

The layout of the cosmograph reflects the Egyptian’s Nile-centric world view, beginning in the south at the river’s source, such that east appears on the left and west on the right.⁶⁰⁶ The watery border separating the upper and

⁶⁰³ Identified in the text as *m3nw*, where the sun god, in his evening form (Atum), “rests/sets” in the night boat (see §3.3, Text T13).

⁶⁰⁴ Cf. the detailed, conceptual diagrams illustrating various aspects of this cosmic polarity in WIEBACH-KOEPKE, *Sonnenlauf*, 12, 34, 66, 80 156–57, 207 (“Schema I–VI”).

⁶⁰⁵ For the Egyptian artistic conventions employed in the construction of cosmic scenes in two dimensions, see SCHÄFER, *Principles*, 235–45, §4.4.8. For the Egyptians’ conceptual universe as a “sphere of air and light” within the primeval waters, see J. ALLEN, *Genesis in Egypt*, 4–7. Cf. the three-dimensional diagrams illustrating the transit of celestial bodies along the surface of a sphere in NEUGEBAUER and PARKER, *Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, 122–26; thus, also the two dimensional diagram of stellar transit in VON LIEVEN, *Grundriss*, vol. 1, 148.

⁶⁰⁶ See Ch. 1, above, noting also the unique reversal of the tableau in the private version of Mutirdis.

lower registers can be understood simultaneously as the terrestrial Nile (south–north) and as the divine waterway upon which the sun travels through the visible sky (east–west), into the hidden realm of the Dead, and back again (west–east).⁶⁰⁷ These waterways were believed to flow from a common source, the primordial waters of Nun, which surround the cosmos.⁶⁰⁸ It is this common source that probably underlies the artistic convention of a single, horizontal band of water linking all four cardinal directions.

At the center of the cosmograph, the horizontal and vertical axes converge and pass through the *sm3-t3.wy* emblem, the literal “union of the two lands” and the implicit, geometric center of the three-dimensional space through which the sun travels. The directions of solar travel along the horizontal axis are indicated explicitly in the original tableau through the prow-to-prow meeting of the morning (east-to-west) and evening (west-to-east) barques. Vertical motion is implicit in the transition from day to night, and vice-versa. In addition, a clear vertical axis is evident in the cascade of hieroglyphs that descend from the winged disc to the *sm3-t3.wy* emblem, shining “life” and “stability” upon the two lands. The winged disc rests at the apogee of its transit (i.e. noon), such that the vertical column of “sunlight” bisects the upper register. Understanding the tableau in terms of its three-dimensional analog, the column functions as a radius of the sphere and as the vertical juncture of the four quarters of the visible sky.

Beyond the core directionality of the cosmograph, a number of scholars have also explored the stellar significance of the minor figures in the Awakening and Transit scenes. Thus, WAITKUS, et al., have sought to connect the thirty-six minor figures in the lower register⁶⁰⁹ with the thirty-six decan star groups,⁶¹⁰ used to track the passage of the night-time hours over

⁶⁰⁷ For the cosmograph as a representation of the totality of solar transit above and below the terrestrial realm, i.e. east–west and west–east, see THOMAS, *JEA* 42 (1956), 65–66, 68, 75; for the watery boundary as the division between the northern and southern skies, see also QUACK, *Sudhoffs Archiv* 83 (1999), 215, with additional discussion below.

⁶⁰⁸ For Nun, see ALLEN, *Genesis*, 3–7; *ibid.*, “Cosmology of the Pyramid Texts,” 10–14; and R. GRIESHAMMER, “Nun,” in W. Helck and W. Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* IV (Wiesbaden, 1982), cols. 534–35; with additional references in WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 497. For the emergence of the primordial waters from “openings” (*qrr.wt*) in the Underworld, to appear as floodwaters on earth, see E. HORNUNG, “Probleme der Wortforschung im Pfortenbuch,” *GM* 6 (1973), 57; with additional references in ROBERSON, *Books of the Earth*, 232–34.

⁶⁰⁹ Twenty figures on the west side, plus sixteen on the east; see above, Ch. 2, §§2.1–2.

⁶¹⁰ Thus, WAITKUS, *GM* 99 (1987), 68–69 and n. 102; thus, also QUACK, *Sudhoffs Archiv* 83 (1999), 215; and VON LIEVEN, *Grundriss*, vol. 1, 25. For possible textual support, see above, §2.5, Text A15, comment c., n. 318.

a period of ten days, as attested already by the First Intermediate Period and early Middle Kingdom.⁶¹¹ In addition, QUACK has suggested plausibly that the minor figures in the upper register, labeled as gods who are in either the “northern” or “southern” sky, represent fixed stars, as opposed to planets or other celestial phenomena.⁶¹² Most importantly, he interprets the four minor registers in the upper half of the tableau as a chronological sequence, starting from the bottom, with the “gods who emerge in front of the barque” (§§3.2–3, Texts T7 and T12), i.e. stars that rise before the sun and are visible in the night-time sky; and concluding at the top, with the “gods who follow the barque” (§§3.2–3, Texts T4 and T9), i.e. stars that cross the horizon after sunrise and are therefore invisible to the naked eye.⁶¹³ This sequence progresses vertically from bottom to top within the upper register. If a similar organizational principle governs the layout of the bi-partite tableau as a whole, then the lower register should represent the beginning of the composition. The cosmology that informs the bi-partite tableau is fundamentally cyclical. However, each individual’s entry into that cycle represents a specific instance of apotheosis (§4.3.2, below), which begins with the ritual preparation of the deceased for burial.⁶¹⁴ It is logical, therefore, that the composition should “begin” in the lower register, where Horus wakes the mummified corpse of his father, Osiris.

4.3.2 Royal apotheosis in the bi-partite tableau

The Awakening and Transit scenes of the bi-partite tableau unite the myth of royal succession and apotheosis, whereby Osiris is simultaneously revived by and incarnated as his son Horus, with the myth of the sun’s cyclical journey through the diurnal and nocturnal skies.⁶¹⁵ Through its explicit pairing of the Solar and Osirian myths, the bi-partite tableau may also be

⁶¹¹ See NEUGEBAUER and PARKER, *Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, 95–97; J. VON BECKERATH, “Dekane,” in W. Helck and E. Otto (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden, 1975), cols. 1036–37; VON LIEVEN, *Grundriss*, vol. 1, 148.

⁶¹² QUACK, *Sudhoffs Archiv* 83 (1999), 214–15.

⁶¹³ QUACK, *Sudhoffs Archiv* 83 (1999), 213–16. Between these two groups, Quack interprets the “gods who are in the entourage of Re” (second register from the bottom; §§3.2–3, Texts T6 and T11) as stars that rise simultaneously with the sun, and the “possessors of flame” (second register from the top; §§3.2–3, Texts T5 and T10) as strikingly bright stars that are already above the horizon at sunset (*ibid.*, 215–16).

⁶¹⁴ For the symbolic identification of the Osirian Embalming Hall with the sarcophagus chamber, as illustrated through the use of the bi-partite tableau and other cosmographic scenes and texts, see ASSMANN, *Mutirdis*, 14–15.

⁶¹⁵ For the union of these cosmic processes in the person of the king, see WIEBACH-KOEPKE, *Sonnenlauf*, 205–07 (“Schema VI”) and *passim*.

viewed as a concise affirmation of the related concept of the Solar-Osirian unity.⁶¹⁶ Permeating every level of this mythological framework, we find the deceased, whose translation to the divine world through the medium of death serves as the point of contact linking these various spheres of activity.⁶¹⁷

It is the ubiquitous—indeed, obligatory—presence of the deceased that constitutes the most important difference between the bi-partite tableau and many other Underworld Books and Books of the Sky. As BAUMANN notes, references to the dead king in the Book of Caverns and Book of the Earth represent “conspicuously later additions” to those works.⁶¹⁸ In the earliest copies of the *Amduat*, the king was “constantly inserted” into the text but this practice was largely abandoned by the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty,⁶¹⁹ indicating that those personalized elements were not viewed as an essential part of the composition. By contrast, the Awakening and Transit scenes always include the deceased as an integral figure, in both image and text. What is most significant about these occurrences is that the king is no mere spectator, passively observing the actions of the gods.⁶²⁰ Rather, he is identified with the great gods themselves, whose underlying unity is thereby emphasized.

In the bottom register, the large standing male, who wakes Osiris, is labeled as the “Horus so-and-so” in all extant royal versions of the full tableau.⁶²¹ This identification evokes the myth of royal succession, whereby the living son performs the funerary rites for the deceased father and justifies his claim as the sole, legitimate heir.⁶²² However, it is important to note that the earliest extant version, that of Sety I, was not inscribed in a tomb,

⁶¹⁶ For which, see A. NIWINSKI, “The Solar-Osirian Unity as Principle of the Theology of the State of Amun in Thebes in the 21st Dynasty,” *JEOL* 30 (1987–88), 89–106; DARNELL, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 355–56, 374–424, and passim; MANASSA, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, vol. 1, 430–35; for important antecedents from the Middle Kingdom, see WILLEMS, “The Embalmer Embalmed,” 360–64; *ibid.*, *Chests of Life*, 151–59.

⁶¹⁷ Cf. discussion of the cosmic, mythic, and cultic “dimensions of contact with the divine,” in J. ASSMANN, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, translated from the German by David Lorton (Ithaca & London 2001), 7–10.

⁶¹⁸ BAUMANN, *Suffix Conjugation*, 4. For a detailed discussion of the “royal additions” (“königliche Zusätze”) to the Book of Caverns and Book of the Earth, see ABITZ, *Pharao als Gott*, 120–34, 164–66, 171–73.

⁶¹⁹ HORNUNG, *Books of the Afterlife*, 33; for occurrences, see ABITZ, *Pharao als Gott*, 23–26.

⁶²⁰ But note changes to the private version of Mutirdis, discussed below (§4.3.3).

⁶²¹ The private version of Mutirdis and the abbreviated version from the sarcophagus of Psusennes both omit the Horus epithet.

⁶²² WILLEMS, “Embalmer Embalmed,” 360; WIEBACH-KOEPKE, *Sonnenlauf*, 198.

but rather in a temple designed to function ritually as a tomb, i.e. a cenotaph, for the god Osiris at Abydos. Thus, when “Horus-Sety protects/rescues (*nd*) his father Osiris” (§2.3, Text A9), it is not specifically or primarily Sety’s deceased, biological father, Ramesses I, to whom the text refers. Rather, we must understand the text and scene in the terms of temple ritual, involving some aspect of the Osirian statue cult in connection with the mortuary ceremonies and interment of the god’s image. Following ASSMANN, numerous scholars have identified the location of the Awakening scene as the Embalming Hall, in which priests assumed the roles of various protective deities who watch over Osiris’s corpse, as a probable forerunner to the Greco-Roman “hour vigil” (*Stundenwachen*).⁶²³ Regarding the identification of the Embalming Hall, the significance of the first six of the minor deities, which flank the central tableau, deserves mention. The paired figures in the first row correspond to the four canopic jars that protect the organs of the deceased: Duamutef and Qebehsenuef in the west, Imseti and Hapi in the east.⁶²⁴ These four gods, in turn, appear above the four tutelary goddesses, who protect the canopic shrine itself: Selqet and Isis in the west, Neith and Nephthys in the east.⁶²⁵ Additional support for ASSMANN’s “hour vigil” hypothesis comes from the plausible identification of the thirty-six minor deities in the lower register with the thirty-six decans, by which the Egyptians reckoned the passage of the night-time hours.⁶²⁶

Unfortunately, the texts that actually describe the ritual in the Awakening scene are typically laconic. Aside from the short reference to Horus “protecting” or “rescuing” (*nd*) his father, found in all versions, the version of Sety I adds that “he (i.e., Horus) extends the *w3s*-scepter on behalf of the great god” (§2.3, Text A10). The latter statement, of course, describes the vignette, in which Horus uses the *w3s*-scepter to extend the signs for ‘life’ and ‘dominion’ to the corpse, causing Osiris to lift his head from the slumber of death. Thus “awakened” (*rs*),⁶²⁷ Osiris states that “I have caused that the dual king Menmaatre (i.e. Sety I) withdraw on my behalf, after he

⁶²³ ASSMANN, *Mutirdis*, 14; thus, also WAITKUS, *GM* 99 (1987), 68; GRAJETZKI, *Harageh*, 28; and VON LIEVEN, *Grundriss*, vol. 1, 20. For Middle Kingdom antecedents to this ritual from the private mortuary sphere, see H. WILLEMS, *Chests of Life* (Leiden, 1988), 141–46; with additional discussion, linking the MK material with the AOTSB tableau, in *ibid.*, “The Embalmer Embalmed,” 358–64; and GRAJETZKI, *Harageh*, 28–29.

⁶²⁴ See §2.1, Text A1/1–2 (Duamutef and Qebehsenuef); §2.2, Text A5/1–2 (Imsety and Hapi).

⁶²⁵ See §2.1, Texts A2/1 (Selqet) and A4/1 (Isis); §2.2, Texts A6/1 (Neith) and A8/1 (Nephthys).

⁶²⁶ WAITKUS, *GM* 99 (1987), 69, n. 102; see §4.3.1, nn. 609–11, above.

⁶²⁷ Identified as such by the *rs*-hieroglyph that appears above the prone mummy (see Ch. 1).

emerged as the one who is in the disc. I am protected (*nd*), so that I might become exalted in the disc eternally,⁶²⁸ and so that I might shine on his behalf, (namely) Re” (§2.5, Text A15). This speech provides the link between the Osirian scene in the lower register and the Solar scene in the upper register, through its identification of both the living Horus and the deceased Osiris as residents in the disc, i.e. manifestations of the sun god, Re.⁶²⁹ This solar transformation is indicated visually in the version of Ramesses IX, in which a red (i.e. nocturnal) disc rises from a fiery “horizon” of uraei above the Osirian shrine,⁶³⁰ in obvious contrast to the yellow (i.e. diurnal) disc, soaring in the register above.⁶³¹ At the same time, the interdependence of Horus, Osiris, and Re is indicated grammatically through the repetition of the dative: Sety has withdrawn from the Embalming Hall “on behalf of” (*n*) Osiris, while Osiris wishes to shine “on behalf of” (*n*) Re.

The subtle acknowledgement of the living king’s future status as Osiris (i.e. deceased) is remarkable in itself. However, the next time the scene appears, it is in a funerary context—the tomb of Ramesses VI—and the equation has become much more explicit: In addition to Horus-Ramesses, the figure of Osiris in his shrine is also labeled unambiguously with the name of the king (§2.5, text A14). Thus, whereas the temple context of Sety’s inscription had suggested an anticipation of the living king’s *future* status as Osiris, the tomb context of subsequent versions suggests a renewal or perpetuation of the deceased king’s *prior* status as Horus. In either case, the result is the same: Horus-Sety wakes Osiris-Sety; Horus-Ramesses VI wakes Osiris-Ramesses VI; etc.⁶³² These equations de-emphasized the ever-changing, mortal face of kingship and stressed instead the mutually de-

⁶²⁸ The reference to the deceased emerging as “one who is in the disc” is omitted in the versions of Sheshonq III and Mutirdis.

⁶²⁹ This solar aspect accounts presumably for the use of cryptography in the god’s speech; as DARNELL notes (*Solar-Osirian Unity*, 479), “During the New Kingdom, cryptography appears in texts dealing with solar regeneration, and with the crossing of cosmic boundaries.”

⁶³⁰ See Ch. 1, n. 51.

⁶³¹ For the color symbolism of the nocturnal and diurnal discs, see WILKINSON, *JARCE* 31 (1994), 82.

⁶³² Cf. WILLEMS, “The Embalmer Embalmed,” 367, who interprets the ritual depicted on certain Middle Kingdom coffins in precisely these terms: “A man has died and his corpse lies in the Place of Embalming as ‘an’ Osiris. His son, interpreted as ‘a’ Horus, enters and provides his father’s mummy with the necessities of life in the netherworld, including royal attributes. From this moment, the deceased, too, is a form of Horus, and is ready to start his journey to Osiris. The son, a form of Horus, thus sends another form of Horus to the netherworld.”

pendent, co-incarnation of Horus-Osiris as two aspects of a single, divine being.

Turning to the upper register, an elaborate representation of the triple sun god, Horus-Re-Atum replaces the divine complex Horus-Osiris-Re. Once again, the deceased is present at every level of the equation. The solar disc, which dominates the center of the upper register, is labeled as the Behdetite (§3.1, texts T1–2), i.e. the elder sky god Horus, with uraei looking forward and back along wings that span the cosmos, from the western and eastern horizons to the gods of the northern and southern skies.⁶³³ The iconography of the winged disc itself is conventional and extremely well attested, with clear precursors occurring as far back as the First Dynasty.⁶³⁴ More innovative are the stylized rays of sunlight that descend from the disc in the form of ‘life’ and ‘stability’ hieroglyphs,⁶³⁵ the very signs which Horus elevates to the nose of Osiris in the register below. Most importantly, the text that appears between the descending hieroglyphic “rays” labels the sun and its light as the “Horus so-and-so” (§3.6, Text T21).⁶³⁶ In this way, the elder Horus is linked to Horus the son of Osiris from the lower register, through their mutual identification with the individual kings for whom the texts were inscribed.

Beneath the winged disc, the sun appears again in his nocturnal and diurnal forms, as Atum in the evening barque and Re-Horakhty in the morning barque (§§3.4–5, Texts T13, T17). In each boat, the sun god confronts an image of the king, who is in turn supported by the goddess Ma’at as a tacit indicator of the correct functioning of the solar microcosm.⁶³⁷ The representation of the king as a figure distinct from Atum and Re-Horakhty contrasts with the labeling of Horus, Osiris, and the Behdetite as the king himself. Nevertheless, the equation of the king with Atum and Re-Horakhty is implicit in the scene’s iconography. In the evening boat, the king and Atum share identical features and wear identical clothing, being distinguished visually only by Atum’s double crown and the uraeus that adorns the king’s forehead. In the version of Ramesses IX, the iconograph-

⁶³³ For the iconography and symbolism of Horus the Behdetite, see GARDINER, *JEA* 30 (1944), 46–52.

⁶³⁴ GARDINER, *JEA* 30 (1944), pl. VI, 4 (inscribed comb from the reign of king Djet), with discussion in *ibid.*, 49.

⁶³⁵ See above, §4.2, at nn. 590–96.

⁶³⁶ The private version of Mutirdis replaces the royal Horus epithet with Mutirdis’s title “chief follower of the divine adoratrice”; the significance of this alteration is considered in §4.3.3, below.

⁶³⁷ Note that the standing goddess is labeled explicitly as Ma’at only in the morning barque, in the version of Ramesses VI (§3.5, Text T20).

ic congruence of the king and god extends also to Re-Horakhty, whose usual falcon head is replaced by the human features of the king, with “no differentiation in the status of the two figures,”⁶³⁸ aside from the double crown and uraeus, which mirror those attributes from the corresponding figures in the evening barque.

An additional, subtle indication of the identity of the king with Re-Horakhty may be observed in the exchange of a small Ma’at figurine, which takes place only in the morning craft.⁶³⁹ Unlike more conventional examples of the presentation of Ma’at, the present scene makes no clear distinction between donor and recipient.⁶⁴⁰ Furthermore, in the versions of Sety I and Sheshonq III, the Ma’at figurine in conjunction with the figure of the sun god, et al., can be read as cryptic rebuses for the respective kings’ throne names.⁶⁴¹ In the latter example, the *wsr*-element of the king’s name is oriented toward the god, while the Ma’at figuring faces the king, further emphasizing the unity of the royal and divine figures. The version of Ramesses IX foregoes the use of a cryptic rebus but includes instead the king’s normal throne and birth names, with the former oriented toward the god and the latter oriented toward the king, underscoring once again the unity of the two figures.

4.3.3 *Private adaptations to the bi-partite tableau in the version of Mutirdis*

The iconography and texts of the bi-partite tableau are bound inextricably with the concept of royal apotheosis, as the common thread linking the myths of Horus and Osiris with the solar cycle. Consequently, the most unique permutation of the full tableau occurs in the non-royal version of Mutirdis, which includes several conspicuous alterations to the original template. The most obvious of these changes is the unparalleled use of three versions of the tableau in the same monument.⁶⁴² ASSMANN suggests that the cosmographic decoration of chambers I, III, and IV, in which appear the AOTSB et al., reflects the outcome of an originally royal transmission history, versus the originally private decorative program found else-

⁶³⁸ TEETER, *Presentation of Maat*, 19.

⁶³⁹ The private version of Mutirdis omits the Maat figurine (see §4.3.3, below).

⁶⁴⁰ TEETER, *Presentation of Maat*, 20.

⁶⁴¹ See discussion above, at Ch. 1, nn. 67–73.

⁶⁴² ASSMANN, *Mutirdis*, 14–15 (scenes 31, 41, and 45 in Chambers I, III, and IV, respectively), who suggests also that the duplication of scenes in Chambers III and IV reflects the overlapping functions of those rooms as an ersatz well shaft and sarcophagus chamber, respectively.

where in the monument.⁶⁴³ In this regard, ASSMANN interprets the decoration, hence also the symbolic function, of Chambers III and IV as equivalent to those of the well shaft and burial chamber from the royal tombs of the New Kingdom.⁶⁴⁴

In addition to its repetition, the overall layout of the tableau has been reversed (right-to-left) in Chambers III and IV, relative to the left-to-right orientation employed in Chamber I, as well as all earlier, royal versions of the tableau.⁶⁴⁵ Interestingly, the versions from Chambers I and IV, although oriented in opposite directions, both appear on their respective south walls, while the version from Chamber III appears on the north wall. This arrangement results necessarily in a disjunction of “real” (i.e., external) versus “ideal” (i.e., internal or symbolic) orientation to the cardinal directions, with emphasis falling clearly on the latter. In this regard, one common feature emerges in the variable placement of the bi-partite tableau: In each case, the scenes appear on the chamber’s rear wall, relative to an observer entering the tomb from outside. If the decoration of Mutirdis’s tomb was adapted from specifically royal antecedents, as ASSMANN suggests, then the only monuments that exhibit comparable layouts are the tombs of Ramesses IX and Sheshonq III, where the AOTSB appears on the rear wall of the kings’ sarcophagus chambers. The Theban context of Mutirdis’s tomb argues in favor of the former king’s monument as the more likely model. However, Ramesses IX employed a heavily abridged version of the bi-partite tableau, whereas Mutirdis and Sheshonq both employed the full composition, suggesting a more complex pattern of transmission, involving presumably the mediation of a papyrus template or master book,⁶⁴⁶ which has not been preserved. Such a template must have included the iconography of the complete tableau, which could be condensed (Ramesses IX) or altered (Mutirdis, see below) as necessary. On analogy with the *Amduat*, which includes ancient instructions for the physical layout of the text on the tombs walls,⁶⁴⁷ I speculate that a template for the AOTSB might also have included instructions for its ideal placement on the ceiling (Sety I, Ramesses VI), which was shifted to the adjacent rear wall in the version of Ramesses IX, as part of the alterations to the originally planned decorative

⁶⁴³ ASSMANN, *Mutirdis*, 15, identifying the programs of Chambers I, III, and IV as “spezifisch königlich,” versus the “spezifisch «bürgerliches»” excerpts from BD 125 in Chamber II.

⁶⁴⁴ ASSMANN, *Mutirdis*, 14.

⁶⁴⁵ ASSMANN, *Mutirdis*, 82.

⁶⁴⁶ See above, §4.2, n. 572.

⁶⁴⁷ See references above, in §4.1, n. 557.

program,⁶⁴⁸ to be copied later in the monuments of Sheshonq III and Mutirdis.⁶⁴⁹ We cannot know if the template itself was altered to reflect this shift.⁶⁵⁰ However, the fact that Theban priests retained access to the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings after the collapse of the New Kingdom⁶⁵¹ suggests that Mutirdis's use of the AOTSB could reflect influence from specific royal exemplars, such as Ramesses IX, in addition to the hypothetical, papyrus template.⁶⁵²

Regarding the book's content, a number of iconographic and textual elements in the Mutirdis version exhibit noteworthy differences from the earlier corpus of royal scenes. In the lower register, the standing figure who wakes Osiris is not identified by means of the Horus name, as found in all royal versions. Instead, the text states simply that "he protects (*nd=f*) his father Osiris" (§2.3, Text A9). In addition, the iconography of the standing god has been altered. Whereas all royal versions depict Horus with the human features of the king, the version of Mutirdis shows the god with his traditional falcon's head. These changes effectively remove any overt identification of the traditional god of kingship with Mutirdis herself. Interestingly, however, both the textual and iconographic alterations have antecedents in the royal sphere. Already on the abbreviated recension that appears inside the re-carved sarcophagus of Merneptah / Psusennes, we find a falcon-headed god, lacking the features of the deceased and identified only as "foremost of the gods," who elevates the *nh* and *w3s* hieroglyphs toward the head of the mummy.⁶⁵³ This fact suggests that the alterations to

⁶⁴⁸ For the phases of decoration in the tomb of Ramesses IX, see above, §4.1, n. 567.

⁶⁴⁹ For the physical placement and relationship of the AOTSB and adjacent compositions, see table 4.1, above. Note that the location of the rear wall at the south end of Mutirdis Chambers I and IV, as well as the burial chamber of Sheshonq III, is paralleled also in the placement of the AOTSB on the south-eastern side of the ceiling in the earliest version, that of Sety I.

⁶⁵⁰ For the possible, albeit unproven, "renewal" of templates and master books on fresh papyrus by "conscientious, tradition-minded Saïtes," see DER MANUELIAN, *Living in the Past*, 54–55.

⁶⁵¹ See K.A. KITCHEN, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100–650 BC)* (Oxford, 2004 reprint of 1996), §233, 277–78.

⁶⁵² Thus, DER MANUELIAN, *Living in the Past*, 55, speaking with regard to Saite copies from private models: "Contrary to the arguments put forth in most of the earlier scholarly literature, the use of one system [i.e. direct copying versus papyrus templates] in one case need not exclude the use of other systems in other cases."

⁶⁵³ See the diagram in fig. 4.1, above, with photographs and drawings in MONTET, *Tombeau de Psousennès*, pls. 90–91 (top); in the sarcophagus, the actual body of the deceased substitutes for the image of the awakened Osiris. Also note a second hawk-headed figure, to the right, who is labeled specifically as "Horus" but stands merely as one god in a much longer file of divinities.

Mutirdis's version of the Awakening scene were not necessarily motivated exclusively by either her gender or her non-royal status. Rather, the changes to the figure of Horus might reflect the influence of the abbreviated, sarcophagus tradition on the more robust version of the book employed in the decoration of tombs.

In the original tradition, as attested in the temple context Sety I's cenotaph at Abydos, the king functioned simultaneously as Horus and Osiris. Thus, as mentioned above (§4.3.2), the living king sought to honor the god Osiris in anticipation of his future status as a manifestation of that god. As Sety's book was adapted for use in royal tombs, from Ramesses VI through Sheshonq III, the status of the deceased king as Osiris shifted necessarily to the foreground. At the same time, the tableau's continued identification of the deceased with Horus effectively neutralized the individual identity of any still-living heir, who might have taken part in the embalming ritual. In the later tradition, exemplified by the sarcophagus of Merneptah/Psuseren, the tomb of Mutirdis, and the Ptolemaic coffin of Khaf, the specific (human) identity of Horus, as the main actor in the Awakening ritual, remains unspecified.⁶⁵⁴ As for Osiris, Mutirdis is only identified explicitly with that god in the upper register, where a series of short captions, not present in any earlier versions, indicate that the gods of the northern and southern skies are the "protection (*jrj-s3*) of the Osiris Mutirdis."⁶⁵⁵ Although this statement can be read as a simple indication of Mutirdis's deceased status, the implication in the context of the bi-partite tableau, with its obvious Osirian overtones, suggests a more profound connection to the god himself.

Regarding the Transit of the Solar Barques, the most obvious alteration to the earlier template is the apparent omission of the Ma'at figurine,⁶⁵⁶ which the king and Re-Horakhty exchange in all royal versions of the scene. Conventional depictions of the presentation of Ma'at are well attested in private sources.⁶⁵⁷ However, as TEETER notes, the exchange of Ma'at in the bi-partite tableau cannot be classified as a conventional presentation

⁶⁵⁴ Oblique reference to the deceased as Horus may still be found in the cryptic speech of Osiris, where the god states that "I have caused that *N.* withdraw on my behalf" (§2.5, Text A15; see discussion in §4.3.2, above).

⁶⁵⁵ See §3.2, Text T4, n. 377, and Text T5, n. 381.

⁶⁵⁶ Shown thus in the reconstruction of ASSMANN, *Mutirdis*, 91, fig. 41; the corresponding photograph (*ibid.*, pl. 41) shows the plaster wall surface mostly destroyed in the vicinity of the god and the deceased. However, the distance between the two figures, as indicated by the length of the boat's hull relative to the preserved head, arm, and torso of Mutirdis, support Assmann's reconstruction.

⁶⁵⁷ See TEETER, *Presentation of Maat*, 6, Table 1.











scene, being instead “symbolic of the acclamation of the king’s name by the gods and the rebirth of the name and king and their identification with Re.”⁶⁵⁸ The omission of this visual cue therefore de-emphasizes the identification of the name of Mutirdis herself with the sun god. At the same time, Mutirdis appears in both the morning and evening barques with conventional female features and dress, which necessarily distinguish her from Re-Horakhty and Atum, in contrast to the congruence of masculine features observed in the earlier royal versions (§4.3.2). In addition, the royal versions all show the king standing toe-to-toe with the gods in the morning and evening barques, whereas Mutirdis stands well back, with no part of her body in physical contact with the god who confronts her.











The overwhelming impression from both the Awakening and Transit scenes in the tomb of Mutirdis is that the deceased has moved into the background of the composition, as a beneficiary of the Solar and Osirian myths but no longer as an active participant. In the Awakening scene, Mutirdis’s presence is merely implicit, as a fleeting reference in the speech of Osiris. In the Transit scene, she appears in the solar barques but stands apart from the sun god, as a passenger, with no overt textual or iconographic connection to the deity. Despite the general de-emphasis on the equation of the deceased with the major anthropomorphic gods in the tableau, Mutirdis remains closely linked to the divine in one important aspect: The life-giving rays of sunlight that descend from the winged solar disc. As in the royal versions, Mutirdis’s name and titles appear between the *nh* and *dd* hieroglyphs, which extend down from the disc’s pendant uraei. Of course, as a private individual, Mutirdis could not claim the royal title of Horus. Nevertheless, in the solar context of the Transit scene, one of her priestly titles might still provide a subtle allusion to the god. Throughout the bi-partite tableau, Mutirdis is identified either as *rh(j.t)-(nj)sw.t*, “king’s acquaintance” or as *hr(j.t)-šms.w*, “chief of followers.”⁶⁵⁹ It is the latter title that introduces Mutirdis’s name beneath the winged solar disc, such that the initial element *hr(j.t)* appears in the position occupied otherwise by the royal title *hr(w)*, “Horus.” This homophone provides a subtle, phonetic connection to the name of the sky god, whose rays transmit ‘life’ and ‘stability’ from the upper reaches of the sky, in the name of the deceased. In this way, the solar apotheosis of this non-royal priestess was ultimately confirmed, as it had been for generations of royalty before her.














⁶⁵⁸ TEETER, *Presentation of Maat*, 21; see discussion in §4.3.2, above.














⁶⁵⁹ For her complete titulary, see ASSMANN, *Mutirdis*, 17–19.













APPENDIX: REGISTER OF CRYPTIC VALUES IN THE AOTSB














<i>Sign nr.</i>	<i>Cryptic glyphs</i>	<i>Values discussed in the present corpus</i>	<i>Substitution mechanisms</i>	<i>Discussion and examples</i>
unclear		<i>jw</i>	class	§3.4, T16, d
unclear		<i>m</i>	shape	§2.5, A15, j
		<i>°q</i>	direct rep. / sportive	
A2		<i>=j</i>	direct representation	§3.4, T16, h
		<i>s3</i>	rebus	§3.5, T18, d
A19		<i>wr</i>	direct representation	§2.5, A5, n
A26		<i>j</i>	rebus	§2.5, A15, b
		<i>=f</i>	rebus + consonantal	§2.5, A15, s
A27		<i>j</i>	class	§3.4, T16, b
A26/27 + I6A/S1/F 34		<i>=f</i>	rebus + consonantal	§2.5, A15, s
A42 var., 3x		<i>nb.w</i>	direct representation	§3.6, T21, k
A43 variants		<i>nb</i>	direct representation	§3.4, T13, b
		<i>St(h)</i>	class	§3.4, T15, c
A59 var.		<i>šhm-hpš</i>	direct representation	§3.6, T21, g



















<i>Sign nr.</i>	<i>Cryptic glyphs</i>	<i>Values discussed in the present corpus</i>	<i>Substitution mechanisms</i>	<i>Discussion and examples</i>
A73 var.		<i>ḥ</i>	class + consonantal	§2.5, A15, f
A84		<i>=j</i>	direct representation	§2.5, A15, g; §3.4, T16, h; §3.5, T19, e
A92/93 var. + O6		<i>nb</i>	shape + class + consonantal	§3.4, T16, c
A310 var.		<i>ḥrw</i>	direct representation	§3.6, T21, a
A310 var. + C228		<i>ḥrw-nbw</i>	direct representation	§3.6, T21, i
A359 var.		<i>wj</i>	direct representation	§2.5, A15, d, l
		<i>=j</i>	direct representation	§2.5, A15, m, r
A366		<i>j</i>	class	§2.5, A15, b
A471 var.		<i>dr-pḡ.t-9</i>	direct representation	§3.6, T21, h
B6		<i>s3</i>	direct representation	§3.4, T15, a
B36 variants		<i>nḏ</i>	rebus	§2.3, A9, b; §2.5, A15, m, n
		<i>sḥnḥ ?</i>	rebus?	§2.3, A9, b















<i>Sign nr.</i>	<i>Cryptic glyphs</i>	<i>Values discussed in the present corpus</i>	<i>Substitution mechanisms</i>	<i>Discussion and examples</i>
C2 var.		R^c	direct representation	§3.5, T18, d
C8 var.		$k3-n\dot{h}t$	direct representation + class	§3.6, T21, b
C10 var.		$m3^c.t$	direct representation	§3.6, T21, l
C11		\dot{h}	consonantal	§2.5, A15, f
C19 var.		$wsr ?$	class ?	§3.6, T21, k
C91 var.		$s^c n\dot{h}-t3.wy$	direct representation	§3.6, T21, d
C98 var.		$St(\dot{h})$	class	§3.5, T18, e
C98 var. + N1/N17		$nb p.t$	direct representation, direct rep. + class	§3.5, T17, d
C101 variant		unknown	unknown	§3.6, T21, k
C102 var.		$[P\dot{t}\dot{h}]$	direct representation	§3.5, T18, f
C118 var.		$w\dot{h}m-ms.wt$	direct representation	§3.6, T21, f
C121, 2x		$\dot{h}^c-m-w3s.t$	unknown / direct representation?	§3.6, T21, c
C121 var. + A16 var.		$w\dot{h}m-\dot{h}^c.w$	direct representation	§3.6, T21, j





<i>Sign nr.</i>	<i>Cryptic glyphs</i>	<i>Values discussed in the present corpus</i>	<i>Substitution mechanisms</i>	<i>Discussion and examples</i>
C184 var. + C188 var.		<i>nb.ty</i>	direct representation	§3.6, T21, e
C268 var.		<i>R^c</i>	direct representation	§3.6, T21, l
D3		<i>hrj</i>	direct rep. / visual pun	§3.4, T13, d
D12		<i>jtn</i>	direct representation	§2.5, A15, p; §3.4, T16, e; §3.5, T17, c
		<i>R^c</i>	direct representation	§2.5, A15, u
D26		<i>p</i>	unknown	§3.4, T13, c
D36		<i>dj</i>	class	§3.4, T15, d
D45		<i>c ?</i>	class	§3.5, T17, o
D210, 2x		<i>c.wy</i>	class	§3.4, T16, i
D234 variants		<i>c</i>	class	§3.4, T17, p
		<i>dj</i>	class	§2.5, A15, e
		det. <i>nḥm</i>	class	§2.5, A15, f
D234 var., 2x		<i>c.wy</i>	class	§3.4, T16, i; §3.5, T19, d
D234 var. + W10		<i>b3 ?</i>	class	§3.5, T17, p
D235, 2x		<i>c.wy</i>	class	§3.4, T16, i
E1		<i>k3</i>	rebus	§3.4, T16, f; §3.5, T19, g

<i>Sign nr.</i>	<i>Cryptic glyphs</i>	<i>Values discussed in the present corpus</i>	<i>Substitution mechanisms</i>	<i>Discussion and examples</i>
E32		<i>t</i>	consonantal + phonetic shift	§2.3, A9, d
		<i>j</i>	rebus	
E83 var.?		<i>nb</i>	class + direct rep. + rebus	§3.4, T14, a
E130 var.		<i>h</i>	unknown	§3.5, T17, f
F20		<i>d(d)</i>	shape + consonantal	§2.5, A15, q
F27 variants		<i>=k</i>	pars pro toto	§3.4, T16, d, e, f, i; §3.5, T18, b, d
F28 variants		<i>=k</i>	pars pro toto	§3.4, T14, b; T16, d, e, f, i; §3.5, T19, g
F51		<i>s</i>	shape + pars pro toto	§2.3, A9, e
F46		<i>pr(j)</i>	shape	§2.5, A15, i
F63		<i>tp</i>	class / direct rep.	§3.4, T13, d
F63A		<i>fnḏ</i>	direct representation	§2.3, A9, i
		<i>hnt</i>	direct representation	§3.4, T14, b; §3.5, T17, b
G5		<i>nb</i>	direct rep.	§3.5, T18, b
		<i>ntr</i>	direct rep.	§2.3, A10, c; §3.5, T17, a, c
G7 variants		<i>ntr</i>	direct rep.	§3.4, T13, a; §3.5, T17, l

<i>Sign nr.</i>	<i>Cryptic glyphs</i>	<i>Values discussed in the present corpus</i>	<i>Substitution mechanisms</i>	<i>Discussion and examples</i>
G14		<i>t</i>	class + consonantal	§3.6, T21, k
		<i>m</i>	consonantal	
G31		<i>w</i>	class	§3.6, T21, k
G47		<i>m</i>	class	§2.5, A15, o
G47 variant		<i>jmj-jtn</i>	class + direct rep. / visual pun	§2.5, A15, k
H6		<i>(w)s(j)r</i>	shape	§2.3, A9, e
H8		<i>s</i>	pars pro toto + consonantal	§2.3, A9, e
I10		<i>=f</i>	class	§2.5, A15, s
I14 variants		<i>=f</i>	class	§2.3, A9, c; A10, a; §3.4, T15, a, b
		<i>d</i>	class	§2.5, A15, a; §3.5, T17, g, j
I24 variant		<i>pr(j)</i>	direct rep. / visual pun	§2.5, A15, i
L1		<i>nh</i>	rebus	§3.5, T18, g
		<i>t</i>	consonantal	§3.4, T15, c
		<i>t3</i>	rebus?	§3.6, T21, k
L4		<i>r</i>	unknown	§2.3, A9, e
M2		<i>j</i>	class	§3.5, T17, b, k
		<i>h3</i>	class	§2.5, A15, r
		<i>h</i>	class + phonetic shift	§3.5, T17, m
		<i><t></i>	unknown	§3.5, T17, i
M15		<i>t3.wy</i>	class	§3.5, T18, b

<i>Sign nr.</i>	<i>Cryptic glyphs</i>	<i>Values discussed in the present corpus</i>	<i>Substitution mechanisms</i>	<i>Discussion and examples</i>
M16		<i>h</i> ?	consonantal	§3.5, T17, p
M44		<i>tp</i>	class	§3.4, T13, d
M134 variants		<i>h3</i>	class	§2.5, A15, r
N1		<i>n</i>	class	§2.5, A15, f
		<i>h₁tp</i>	shape	§3.4, T13, f
N18 + N33/Z2		<i>t</i>	consonantal	§2.5, A15, q
N19		<i>3h.ty</i>	class	§3.5, T17, o
N29		<i>h₁nt</i>	shape	§3.5, T17, k
N31		<i>hr</i>	consonantal	§3.5, T17, o
N32		=w	shape	§3.5, T18, g
N35		<i>t3</i>	class	§3.5, T19, b
		<i>bj.tj</i>	back-formation from  (cf.)	§2.5, A15, h
N36		<i>m</i>	consonantal	§3.5, T19, e
		det. <i>d.t</i>	class	§3.5, T18, h
N36 + D36		<i>m</i>	consonantal	§3.4, T16, h
O1 variants		<i>p</i>	consonantal	§3.5, T17, f, i
O25		<i>mn</i>	direct representation.	§3.6, T21, l
O48 variant		det. <i>R^c</i> ?	shape?	§3.5, T17, p
O51 variant		det. <i>d.t</i>	class	§3.4, T15, d
P8		<i>3</i>	shape	§2.3, A9, f; §3.5, T17, l



<i>Sign nr.</i>	<i>Cryptic glyphs</i>	<i>Values discussed in the present corpus</i>	<i>Substitution mechanisms</i>	<i>Discussion and examples</i>
R7		<i>b₃</i>	class	§3.4, T16, f
R26		<i>sm3-t3.wy</i>	direct representation	§3.4, T13, e
S1		<i>njsw.t</i>	direct representation	§2.5, A15, h §3.6, T21, l
		<i>hḏ</i>	rebus	§3.5, T19, b
S3		<i>n</i>	consonantal	§2.3, A10, b; §2.5, A15, e, g, q, s; §3.4, T15, a; T16, d, f, g, h; §3.5, T17, e; T19, a, e
		<i>bj.tj</i>	direct representation	§2.5, A15, h; §3.6, T21, l
S6		<i>njsw.t-bj.tj</i>	direct rep.	§3.5, T18, a
S8		<i>h^c.w</i>	direct rep.	§3.5, T18, c
S28		<i>s</i>	class	§3.4, T16, g; §3.5, T19, a
S43 variant		<i>tj</i>	shape	§3.5, T17, e
T22 variant		= <i>sn</i>	rebus	§3.4, T16, g
U22 variant		= <i>sn</i>	shape + rebus	§3.4, T16, g
U23 variant		= <i>sn</i>	shape + rebus	§3.4, T16, g
U25		<i>b₃</i>	class + consonantal	§3.4, T16, f
V2		<i>sṯ3</i>	logogram	§2.5, A15, c
V39 variant		<i>ty</i>	rebus	§3.5, T18, e

<i>Sign nr.</i>	<i>Cryptic glyphs</i>	<i>Values discussed in the present corpus</i>	<i>Substitution mechanisms</i>	<i>Discussion and examples</i>
W10		<i>b</i> ₃	class	§3.5, T17, n
		<i>t</i>	pars pro toto + class	§3.5, T17, j
W20		<i>b</i> ₃	shape	§3.4, T16, f
X2		<i>t</i>	class	§2.5, A15, m; §3.4, T13, c; §3.4, T15, a, d; §3.5, T17, f, g
Y1		<i>m</i>	shape + phonetic shift	§2.5, A15, j

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EGYPTIAN-ENGLISH INDEX OF DIVINE NAMES



3

3s.t, Isis 34; also see General Index, 'Isis'



j

J^h, Iah; "the moon" 72; 115

Jf, "Flesh" 26; 59

jmj-jtn, "he-who-is-in the disc" 65; 71; 72; 146

Jmn, "Amun" 57; 60; 64; 70; 94; 105; 108; 113; see also General Index, 'Amun'

Jms.tj, Imseti 39; see General Index, 'Imseti'

Jnpw, Anubis 47

Jhssf, "Fish-man" see *Hssy* and *Hsfw*

Jsb.t jm(j) htp.wy (?),
"The throne in which are
the two who rest (?)" 54

Jds, Isedes 28

Jtmw, Atum see *Tm*

jtn, "the (solar) disc" 74; 75; 97; 98; 101; 126; 144; see also *jmj-jtn*



c

ⁿ(n) ᶜb.wy, "He-who-
averts the horns" 50



w

wršj.w, "awakened ones" 11

(W)s(j)r, Osiris 56; 57; 60; 79; 80; 86; 99; 108; 146



b

Bhd.tj, the Behdetite 77

Bqbq, "Barker" 30



p

Pth, Ptah 105; 115; 116; 143; see also General Index, 'Ptah-Sokar-Osiris'



- m3^c.t*, ma'at 16; 49; 57; 64; 70; 83; 95; 105; 109; 111; 113; 117; 143; see also General Index, 'Ma'at'
- M3nw*, Manu (the Land of the Dead) 89; 91; 92; 129
- mjw 3*, "Great Tom-cat" 33
- M^cnd.t*, Mandjet (the Morning Barque) 86; 87
- (M)skt.t*, Mesketet (the Evening Barque) 89; 91



- N.t*, Neith 44; see also General Index, 'Neith'
- Nw.t*, Nut 21
- Nb.t-hw.t*, Nephthys 51; 98; see also General Index, 'Nephthys'
- Nnw*, Nun 21; see also General Index, 'Nun'



- R^c*, Re 16; 48; 49; 57; 64; 65; 67; 70; 75; 79; 81; 83; 84; 85; 94; 95; 105; 108; 113; 117; 143; 144; 147; see also *R^c-Hr-3h.ty*
- R^c-Hr-3h.ty*, Re-Horakhty 101; 103; 104
- Rw.tj*, "Double lion" 42; 46; 47
- Rs Wsr.t*, "He-who-watches the Powerful One" 52
- Rs hr=j*, "My face is awake; Vigilant" 38









- Hrn*, Heren 31



- Hw.t-hrw*, Hathor see General Index, 'Hathor'
- Hwn(.t)*, "Young one; Kitten" 46; 47
- hwn.t wr.t*, "great maiden" 46
- Hp*, Apis see General Index, 'Apis bull'
- Hpy*, Hapi / Hapy 41; see also General index, 'Fecundity figures', and 'Hapy'
- Hp.tj*, "He-of-the-oar" 24

- Hpwy* see *hpy* and *hp.tj*
- Hng-r3*, “Heneg-of-mouth” 45
- Hr=fm h3h*, “His face moves quickly” 54
- Hr=fm sd.t*, “His face is as flame” 37; 38; 54
- Hr m hwr.t*, “Face as a poor woman (?)” 38
- Hrw*, Horus 37; 56; 57; 81; 106; 113; 142; see also *Hrw jw^c*, *Hrw ˁ.wj*, and General Index, ‘Horus’
- Hrw jw^c*, “Horus the heir” 28
- Hrw ˁ.wj*, “Horus of the two arms” 28
- Hs3.t*, “the wild cow” 25
- Hddw*, “Destroyer” 36
- ⊖ *h*
- H3bs*, Khabas 52
- Hnf3*, “He-who-is-arrogant” 33
- Hnfj* see *Hnf3*
- Hssy*, “Fish-man” 31; 32
- Hsfw*, “He-who-repels” 32
- ⚡ *h*
- hnmw*, Khnum see General Index, ‘Khnum’
- *s*
- Spd*, Soped 43; see also *Spd-hr*
- Spd-jb* see *spd-hr*
- Spd-hr*, “Sharp of face” 43
- Smd(.t/y)*, “Wanderer” 48; 49
- Snd.t*, “She-who-is-frightful” 29
- Srq.t*, Selqet 25; 26; see also General Index, ‘Selqet’
- Skrj*, “He-who-strikes (?)” 50; 51
- sl3.w*, “Ones who tow” 64; 65; 66; 148

-  *s*
Šw-btw, “He-who-slices the serpent” 33
Šw, Shu 23; see also General Index, ‘Shu’
Š(s)ry (?), “He-who-speaks (?)” 50
-  *q*
Qbh-sn.w=f, Qebhsenuf 22; see also General Index, ‘Qebhsenuf’
-  *k*
Kkw, “Darkness” 29; 34; 38; 53; 54
-  *t*
Tfn.t, Tefnut 27; see also General Index, ‘Tefnut’
Tm, Atum 89; see also General Index, ‘Atum’
Thn-jb see *Thn-hr*
Thn-hr, “Ibis face” 35; 120
-  *d*
Dw3-mw.t=f, Duamutef 20; 21; see also General Index, ‘Duamutef’
-  *d*
Dhwtj, Thoth 22; see also General Index, Thoth
Dhdh, “He-who-kills” 22; 23; 36; also see *Dhwtj*

INDEX OF TEXTS CITED

The following list includes citations relating to iconography, orthography and sign readings, hieroglyphic transcription, and translation from Egyptian texts with direct parallels in the AOTSB. Other references and discussions have been omitted from the index. Ancient Egyptian texts and their secondary literature are listed alphabetically by their most common nomenclature in English or, in the case of the *Liturgische Lieder*, German; modern indices, dictionaries, reference volumes, and other articles are sorted by the authors' last names. Full titles of the works cited below appear in the Bibliography.

<i>Amduat</i> (HORNUNG, 1987–94)		170–72	37
Vol. 1, 115, 3	23	172, n. 300	34
Vol. 1, 126	91	256, n. 820	32
Vol. 2, 536	59	263–64	11
Vol. 3, 805	104	275	99
		304, Text 2, 2	99
Book of Caverns (WERNING, 2011)		306, Cenotaph.1, x+8	31
Vol. 2, 50–51, n. e	32	306, Text 4, x+19–20	99
Vol. 2, 54 (47)	68	307, Text 5, 4	68
Vol. 2, 78 (50)	68	307, Text 5, 2–5	99
Vol. 2, 110–11, n. c	32	328, n. 153	60
		339, Text 28, 5	25
Book of the Day (MÜLLER-ROTH, 2008)		R6.B.1.51.47, 11–12	66
322, nr. 300	10	R6.B.1.51.48, 1	66
354, nr. 351	46	R6.B.2.20.55, 11–14	66
455 (A42)	90	R6.B.2.20.55, 18–20	66
455 (A17)	103	O.A.1.51.2, 5	66
		Dj.2.6.4	67
Book of the Dead (T.G. ALLEN, 1974)			
29 (BD 17)	36	Book of Gates (HORNUNG, 1979–80)	
136 (BD 146)	12	Vol. 2, 202–05	11
177–78 (BD 170)	60	Vol. 2, Übersichten der	
222 (BD 171)	12	zwölf Nachstunden,	
		Elfte Stunde	37
Book of the Earth (ROBERSON, 2012)			
150–51	13	Book of the Night (ROULIN, 1996)	
170–71	28	Vol. 1, 74–81	13

Book of Nut (VON LIEVEN, 2007)	203, 1.41	71
Vol. 1, 54, §18, n. 219	59	
	211 (pls. 24–25A)	68
	224 (pl. 27)	68
Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity (DARNELL, 2004)	263, n. 410	31
8, n. 29	98	
22, b	103	
22, n. 34	103	
24, n. 48	4; 58	
25	95	
26, n. 62	90; 106	
32	116	
41, a, nn. 21–22	61; 68	
41, e	68	
42–45	90	
45 and n. 39	66; 74	
48, n. 65 (pl. 4A)	68	
48 and nn. 66–67	74	
53–54 and n. 90	29; 35; 110	
55, n. 96	72	
62, n. 120	101	
66–67	104	
68, n. 144	103	
68 and n. 146	93	
71 and n. 160	109	
81 (pl. 7A)	68	
87 (pl. 7B)	68	
88 and n. 245	102	
104 (pl. 9A)	68	
108–10	60	
123 (pl. 10B)	68	
126, n. 403	68	
128–30	11	
141 (pl. 13A)	68	
146 (pl. 13B)	68	
176 (pl. 21)	68	
186 (pl. 21)	68	
202, n. 159	71	
202, 1.23	71	
203 (pl. 23)	68	
	203, 1.41	71
	211 (pls. 24–25A)	68
	224 (pl. 27)	68
	263, n. 410	31
	279–79, n. 17	98
	300–01	93
	315, d	102
	336 and n. 272	108
	pl. 1, A, D, and E	72
	pl. 5B, 6, 11	99
	pl. 5C, 4, 8, 12	99
	pl. 7B, 1	102
	pl. 7C, 1	99
	pl. 9A, 7–8, 9–12,	
	14–15	99
	pl. 9B, 2	99
	pls. 10B–11	11
	pl. 35, 1 and 4	61
	CAUVILLE, <i>Dendara index</i>	
	178–81 (<i>pri</i>)	70
	244 (<i>nw.t</i>)	21
	247 (<i>nb</i>)	93
	261 (<i>nb</i>)	93; 115
	290 (<i>ntr</i>)	61
	319 (<i>rn</i>)	31
	422 (<i>hfty</i>)	32
	432 (<i>hrw</i>)	49
	447 (<i>hr.t-hrw</i>)	37
	599 (<i>ts.wy</i>)	95
	Coffin Texts (CT) (DE BUCK, 1935–61)	
	II, 37e–38a	68
	II, 67c–d	99
	V, 91a	41
	V, 170b	41
	V, 283–84	38
	V, 357 XVII	41
	V, 358 XXVII	41
	VI, 111b	41

VII, 62q	114	III, 39.1–4	53
VII, 495g–k	68	III, 52–54	46
		III, 54.2	46
Dendara X (CAUVILLE, 1997)		III, 57.5	6
196–97 (pls. 95, 124)	10	III, 69.11–14	24
		III, 121.5–6	45
ERMAN and GRAPOW, <i>Wörterbuch der</i>		III, 121.10–11	45
<i>ägyptischen Sprache</i>		III, 144.5–6	104
I, 10.10–11	103	III, 175.15	46
I, 16–17	12	III, 180.17	46
I, 18.3	103	III, 196.9–199.3	38
I, 37.10	50	III, 205.2–6	36
I, 75.8	71	III, 213.1–2	36
I, 75.22	72	III, 217.3–8	103
I, 88.9	40	III, 230.1	52
I, 100–101	67	III, 230.3	52
I, 125.15–16	67	III, 233	54
I, 188	50	III, 241.17–19	106; 107; 115
I, 204.7–8	109	III, 291.11	34
I, 231.23–232.1	71	III, 292.1	33
I, 327.12	73	III, 302.9–10	93
I, 337.10	69	III, 333.1	32
I, 359	60	III, 332.4	32
I, 378.7–12	109	III, 391	37
I, 407.14	116	III, 415.6–7, 10	21; 61
I, 424–25.13–16	30	IV, 14–16	107
I, 479	30	IV, 47.14–16	58
I, 479.12	30	IV, 109.14	43
I, 485.11–12	33	IV, 125.17–18	49
I, 518–24	71	IV, 182.6–10	29
I, 577	60	IV, 185.6	29
II, 44.11	40	IV, 246–49	115
II, 71.10	117	V, 85.8	99
II, 134.10–12	28	V, 144.7–11	54
II, 139	94	V, 473.1–474.12	38
II, 150	91	V, 595.5–8	38
II, 306.11–14	114		
II, 415–16	6	KURTH, <i>Einführung ins Ptolemäische</i>	
II, 450, 10–11	53	Vol. 1, 15, n. 2	70

- Vol. 1, 44 110
 Vol. 1, 48, n. 6 74
 Vol. 1, 55 98
 Vol. 1, 127, 3b 107
 Vol. 1, 128, 7 98
 Vol. 1, 131–33,
 25a–28b 75
 Vol. 1, 135, 45, n. 350 41
 Vol. 1, 136, 46, n. 356 41
 Vol. 1, 171, 45, n. 227 29
 Vol. 1, 173, 59c–d 41
 Vol. 1, 174, 63,
 nn. 328–39 20
 Vol. 1, 176, 87, n. 471 21
 Vol. 1, 222, 5a 23
 Vol. 1, 224, 39, n. 124 23; 49
 Vol. 1, 225, 46, n. 168 115
 Vol. 1, 227, 79 91
 Vol. 1, 228, 92, n. 336 28
 Vol. 1, 239, 1, n. 4 102
 Vol. 1, 283, 23, n. 65 59
 Vol. 1, 298, 1, n. 17 95
 Vol. 1, 339, 1, n. 6 31
 Vol. 1, 376, 21, n. 80 21
 Vol. 1, 376, 14, n. 55 107
 Vol. 1, 416, 15, n. 62 31
 Vol. 1, 425, 11, n. 41 28
 Vol. 1, 522, n.8 27
 Vol. 2, 519, §17.5,
 n. 12 40
 Vol. 2, 590, n.1 21
 Vol. 2, 590, n. 8 23
- LEITZ, *Lexikon der ägyptischer Götter*
 Vol. 1, 147 [8, 12, 54,
 67, 80–81, 83–84
 89, 117] (*Īḥ*) 115
 Vol. 1, 228–29 [36, 39,
 107–08] (*Īmy-ītn.f*) 72
- Vol. 1, 560, B.2.b
 (*Īsds*) 29
 Vol. 1, 560–61, B. and
 G. (*Īsds*) 28
 Vol. 1, 611–12 [35, 47]
 (*Ītn*) 99
 Vol. 1, 612 [34] (*Ītn*) 98
 Vol. 1, 614–15 [3, 9,
 12, 30, 32] (*Ītn-wr*) 98
 Vol. 1, 615 [4]
 (*Ītn-m-pt*) 98
 Vol. 1, 617 [2] (*Ītn-nfr-*
 n-mjfkst) 98
 Vol. 1, 618 (*Ītn-shḏ-*
 t3wy-m-iwn.f) 98
 Vol. 1, 619 (*Ītn-Tm*) 98
 Vol. 2, 116 (*ʿnn-ḥwy*) 50
 Vol. 2, 658–59
 [20, 22] (*B3*) 103
 Vol. 3, 396
 (*mḥnty-ntrw*) 58
 Vol. 3, 624–25 (*Nb-pt*) 90; 102
 Vol. 5, 123–24 (*Hpwy*) 24
 Vol. 5, 227 (*Hng-r3*) 45–46
 Vol. 5, 246 (*Hr-ḥwy*) 28
 Vol. 5, 387, g [4, 6]
 (*Hry-tp*) 90
 Vol. 5, 399 (*Hry-tp-*
 sm3-t3wy) 90–91
 Vol. 5, 401
 (*Hry-tp-t3wy*) 91
 Vol. 5, 573–75 91
 Vol. 5, 615–16 [3] (*Hy*) 103
 Vol. 5, 751 (*Hnf3*) 33
 Vol. 5, 789 [1] and [4]
 (*Hnty-ītn.f*) 101
 Vol. 5, 965 (*Hssyw*) 32
 Vol. 6, 402 (*Sndt*) 29
 Vol. 6, 698 (*Št3w*) 66

- Litany of Re (HORNUNG, 1975–76)
Vol. 2, 119, nr. 184 11
- Liturgische Lieder (ASSMANN, 1969)
341, n. 19 34
- MANASSA, *RdĖ* 57 (2006)
112 59; 71
112–15 58
118–19 99
128 71
134–35 59; 99
- MANASSA, Appendix of Cryptographic Values
594 (E263 : *h*) 102
601 (L1 : *nh*) 109
604–05 (MS : various) 102
614 (V13 : *t*) 71
617 (Aa15 : *t/t*) 71
- MANASSA, *Late Egyptian Underworld*
Vol. 1, 37–38 21
Vol. 1, 32 32
- Pyramid Texts (PT) (SETHE, 1908–22)
§147b–149d 53
§279d 41
§286e (T) 41
§682c 46
§1313c 41
§1998b 41
§2002a 46
- VAN DER MOLEN, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*
101 (*Wsir*) 60
328 (*hpy*) 41
- WERNING, “Aenigmatische Schreibung”
130 59
131 60
137 (var. A101 : *nb*) 98
141 (F27/F28 : *k*) 93
141 (F51B : *s*) 60
141 (F63 : *hnt*) 93
143 (H8 : *s*) 60
143 (I14 : *f*) 59; 66
144 (L4 : *r*) 60
146 (N31 : *hr*) 104
147–48 (R7 : *b3*) 99
- WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*
110 (*isbt*) 54
154 (*en*) 50
169 (*eh*) 41
341 (*p*) 48
356–57 (*pr*) 70
362 (*3-phity*) 47
388 (*f3w*) 27
389 (*fnḏ.f^cnh*) 60
497 (*nwn, nnw*) 21
501 (*nb* [noun]) 106; 115
512 (*npḏ*, exs. 2, 3) 43
554 (*nt*) 34
557–58 (*ntr*) 61
575 (*r3*) 40
575–76 (*rc nb*) 49
576 (*rwi*, ex. 12) 42
584 (*rn*) 31
591 (*rs hr*) 53
591 (*rs hr.i*) 38
621 (*h^cw-ntr*) 53
658 (*hngg*) 45
666 (*hry-tp* [verb]) 25; 90
677 (*hs3t*) 25
695 (*hd* [verb]) 110
704 (*h3bs*) 52
705 (*h3h*) 54

719 (<i>kʒ-hbswt</i>)	34
726 (<i>hftyw</i>)	32
745 (<i>hrw</i>)	49
775 (<i>hrt-hrw</i>)	37
782–83 (<i>ir sʒ</i>)	61
818 (<i>sbi hr</i>)	23
818–19 (<i>sbi</i>)	37
850 (<i>smd</i>)	49
853 (<i>sni + r</i>)	54
879 (<i>sndt</i>)	29
939 (<i>skr</i> , ex. 12)	51
941 (<i>sk rʒ irtʃ</i>)	51
973 (<i>sd</i>)	28
987 (<i>šʒʕ</i>)	33
1091 (<i>kkw</i> , exs. 2, 8)	38
1118 (<i>tʒ; tʒwy</i>)	95
1141–42 (<i>tfn</i>)	27
1246 (<i>dhdh</i>)	23; 36

GENERAL INDEX

Abydos	1; 41; 95; 98; 107–09; 126; 128; 133; 139
Acrophony	3; 6; 7; 58–60; 64; 67; 71; 115; 116
Aker	42
Apep	33
Apis	41
Archaism	68; 73
Atum	15; 23; 28; 53; 76; 88–92; 97–99; 103; 129; 135; 140
Baboon	23; 26; 36; 41; 59
Barque	1; 2; 4; 9; 11; 13–15; 24; 66; 76; 82; 85–89; 91–93; 98–101; 105; 109; 111; 118; 130; 131; 135; 136; 139; 140
Beard	11; 14; 15; 34
Bed, Lion	11
Behdetite	13; 77; 135
Bull	11; 15; 57; 93; 99; 113; 114; see also ‘Apis’
Buto	see ‘Pe (Buto)’
Canopic	20; 22; 25; 34; 39; 41; 44; 52; 133
Cat	38; 46; 52; 54; see also ‘Cat, Great tom-’
Cat, Great tom- (<i>mjw</i> 𓆎)	33
Consonantal principle	3; 6; 7; 20; 23; 27; 29; 32; 49; 59; 61; 68; 69; 74; 93; 97; 103; 104; 108–10; 116; 117; 141–43; 145–48
Cosmos	13; 24; 76; 107; 128; 130; 135
Crocodile	31; 32; 39; 41; 45; 46; 48; 75; 120
Crown	6; 12; 15; 44; 51; 59; 61; 68–70; 74; 75; 89; 94; 98; 99; 100; 102; 106–108; 110; 113–17; 135; 136
Decan	10; 67; 130; 133
Disc	11–16; 21; 37; 49; 66; 70–72; 74–76; 86; 92; 95; 97–99; 101; 104; 107; 125; 126; 128; 130; 134; 135; 140
Duamutef	20; 21; 39; 40; 53; 133
Earth (<i>t3</i>)	27; 95; 96
East (<i>j3bt.t</i>)	9–11; 13; 14; 18; 20; 21; 24; 25; 34; 35; 39; 40; 43; 47; 76; 78; 83; 86; 87; 96; 107; 119; 129; 130; 133; 135; 138
Edfu	3; 6; 20; 21; 23; 24; 34; 38; 40; 47; 51; 52; 54; 77; 90; 102; 110; 115
Egg	60; 72
Etymology, folk	21; 23; 28; 30; 32; 33; 37; 40–42; 44; 46–51; 55
Face (<i>hr</i>)	21; 23; 34; 35; 36–38; 43; 48; 53; 54; 90; 120

- Falcon 12; 15; 16; 22; 28; 37; 56–58; 61; 66; 81; 86; 90; 101; 103; 106; 107; 120; 136; 138
- Fecundity figure 9; 14; 107; 114
- Fish 31; 32
- Flame 37; 52; 54; 55; 80; 85; 131
- Flesh (*jwḥ*) 20; 21; 26; 27; 32; 37; 59; 60
- Folk etymology see ‘Etymology, folk’
- Great tom-cat see ‘Cat, Great tom- (*mjw ʿ3*)’
- Hapy (Hapi) 20; 41; 53; 133
- Hathor 29; 115
- Heliopolis 38; 42; 46; 57; 64; 70; 94; 103; 113
- Horizon (*3ḥ.t*) 12; 42; 76; 78; 80; 83; 86; 87; 101; 103; 129; 131; 134; 135
- Horus 1; 3; 11–13; 18; 26; 28; 37; 47; 48; 53; 56–61; 72; 73; 77; 81; 98; 103; 104; 106; 107; 113–15; 118; 121; 125; 128; 131–36; 138–40; see also ‘Horus, sons of’
- Horus, sons of 20; 22; 34; 39; 41; 44; 52; see also ‘Duamutef’, ‘Hapy (Hapi)’, ‘Imseti’, and ‘Qebehsenuef’
- Hour vigil 133
- Ibis 22; 28; 35; 38; 43; 52; 54; 83; 120
- Imseti 20; 21; 39; 40; 53; 133
- Isis 11; 20; 25; 34; 44; 51; 133
- Jackal 16; 20; 21; 28; 30; 31; 36; 39; 40; 41; 47; 53; 82
- Khnum 24
- Lion 27; 33; 38; 42; 46; 52; 54; 82; 93; 120; also see ‘Bed, Lion’
- Lion bed see ‘Bed, Lion’
- Ma’at 15–17; 77; 111; 117; 119; 135; 136; 139
- Neith 20; 25; 34; 44; 52; 136
- Nephthys 20; 34; 44; 51; 98; 133
- North (*mḥ.t*) 13; 76; 79; 83–87; 107; 119; 129–31; 135; 139
- Nun 21; 32; 130
- Opening of the Mouth 45; 51
- Osiris passim; also see Egyptian-English Index, *Wsjr*
- Pe (Buto) 48
- Proclitic pronoun
 construction 68; 72; 124; 125; 128
- Propulsion mats 14
- Prospective *sdm=f* see ‘Subjunctive *sdm=f*’
- Ptah-Sokar-Osiris 72
- Qebehsenuef 20; 22; 25; 53; 133
- Re passim; also see Egyptian-English Index, *R^c*

- Rebus 4; 5; 16; 31; 58; 59; 67; 72; 90; 93; 97–99; 106–08; 115; 117; 125; 136; 141; 142; 144–46; 148
 Sarcophagus 1; 10; 11; 13; 18; 20; 22; 24–27; 31; 32; 34; 39; 48; 56; 58; 59; 119; 121; 131; 132; 136; 137–39
 Scepter 10–13; 58; 59; 61; 113; 114; 116; 117; 121; 133
 Scorpion 25
 Selqet 11; 20; 25; 26; 34; 44; 53; 133
 Shrine 11; 12; 18; 20; 34; 44; 52; 61; 62; 64; 68; 73; 74; 99; 119; 125; 133; 134
 Shu 23; 27; 42; 46
 Sky (*p.t*) 12; 14; 77; 79–82; 84–87; 89; 91; 98; 101; 143
sm3 t3.wy see ‘Union of the Two Lands (*sm3 t3.wy*)’
 Sons of Horus see ‘Horus, sons of’
 South (*rs.t*) 13; 76; 78; 79; 80–82; 84; 107; 119; 129; 130; 131; 135; 139
 Star 10; 14; 21; 29; 52; 67; 79–82; 123; 130; 131
Stundenwachen see ‘Hour vigil’
 Subjunctive *sḏm=f* 48; 73
sw sḏm=f see ‘Proclitic Pronoun Construction’
 Tefnut 11; 24; 27; 42; 46; 47
 Titulary 4; 14; 69; 76; 106–09; 112; 125; 140
Treibtafeln see ‘Propulsion mats’
 Union of the Two Lands
 (*sm3 t3.wy*) 9; 14; 89; 91; 130; 148
 Uraeus 11–15; 17; 18; 47; 52; 55; 58; 62; 63; 134–36; 140
 Water 9; 13; 14; 21; 24; 29; 32; 35; 69; 74; 85; 96; 97; 100; 109; 110; 114; 125; 129; 130
 West (*jmnt.t*) 9; 10; 13; 14; 18; 19; 20; 24; 34; 35; 39; 40; 42; 44; 47; 48; 51; 76; 78; 107; 110; 119; 129; 130; 133; 135

Plate 1: Awakening and Transit scenes from the cenotaph of Sety I at Abydos (after FRANKFORT et al., *Cenotaph*, pl. 74; image courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society).

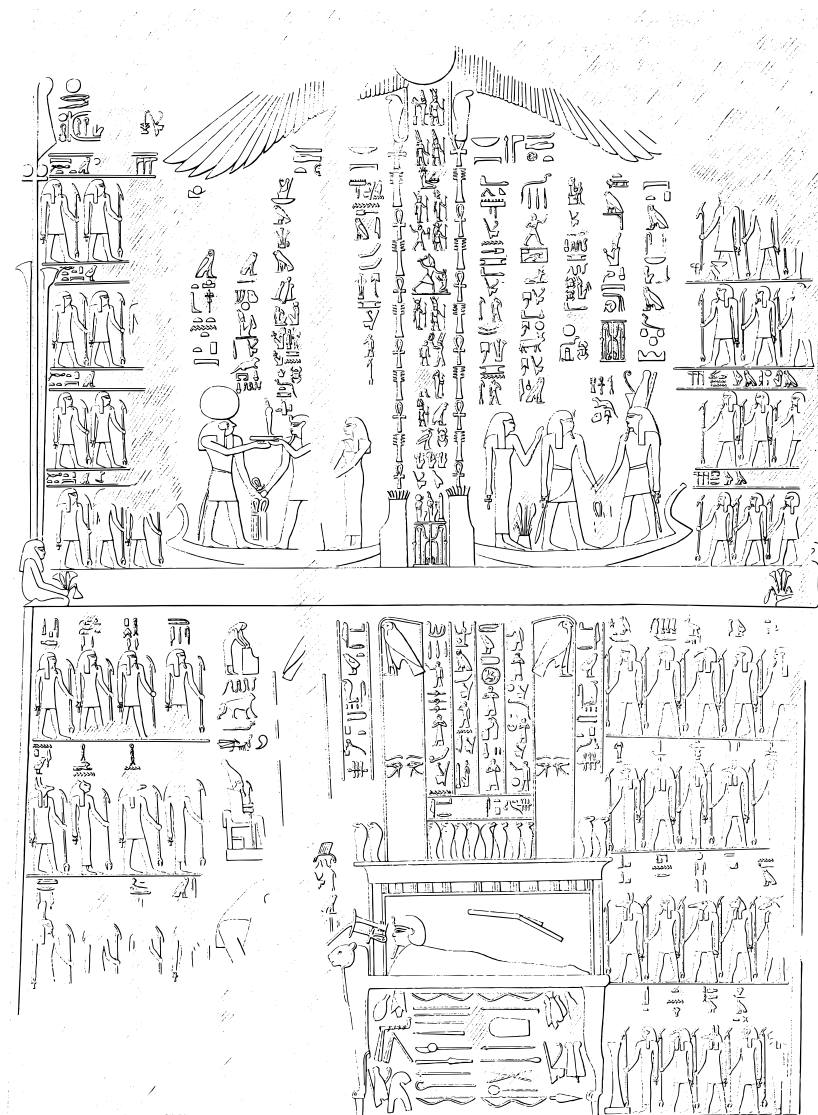


Plate 2: Awakening and Transit scenes from the tomb of Ramesses VI (after PIANKOFF, *Ramesses VI*, 438, fig. 142; *Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations*, vol. 1 © 1954 by Bollingen, 1982 renewed PUP reprinted by permission of Princeton University Press). All hieroglyphs drawn by the present author, after *ibid.*, pls. 184–85.

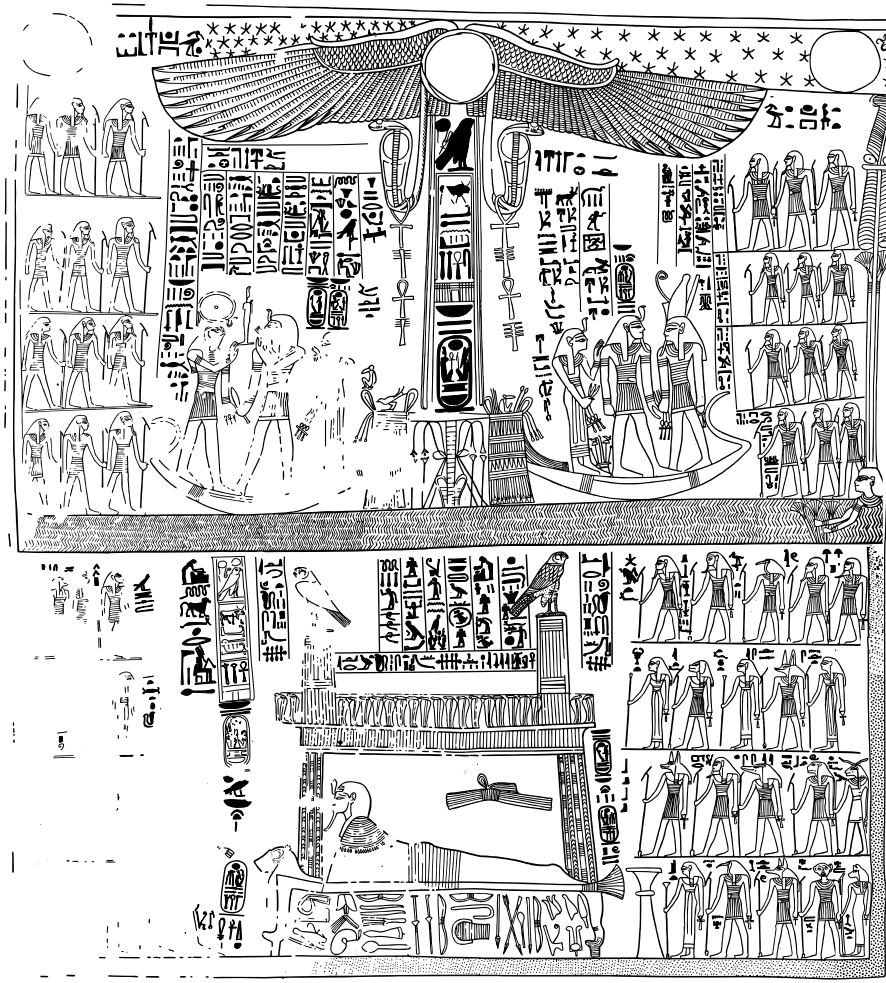


Plate 3: Awakening and Transit scenes from the tomb of Ramesses IX (drawing by the present author).

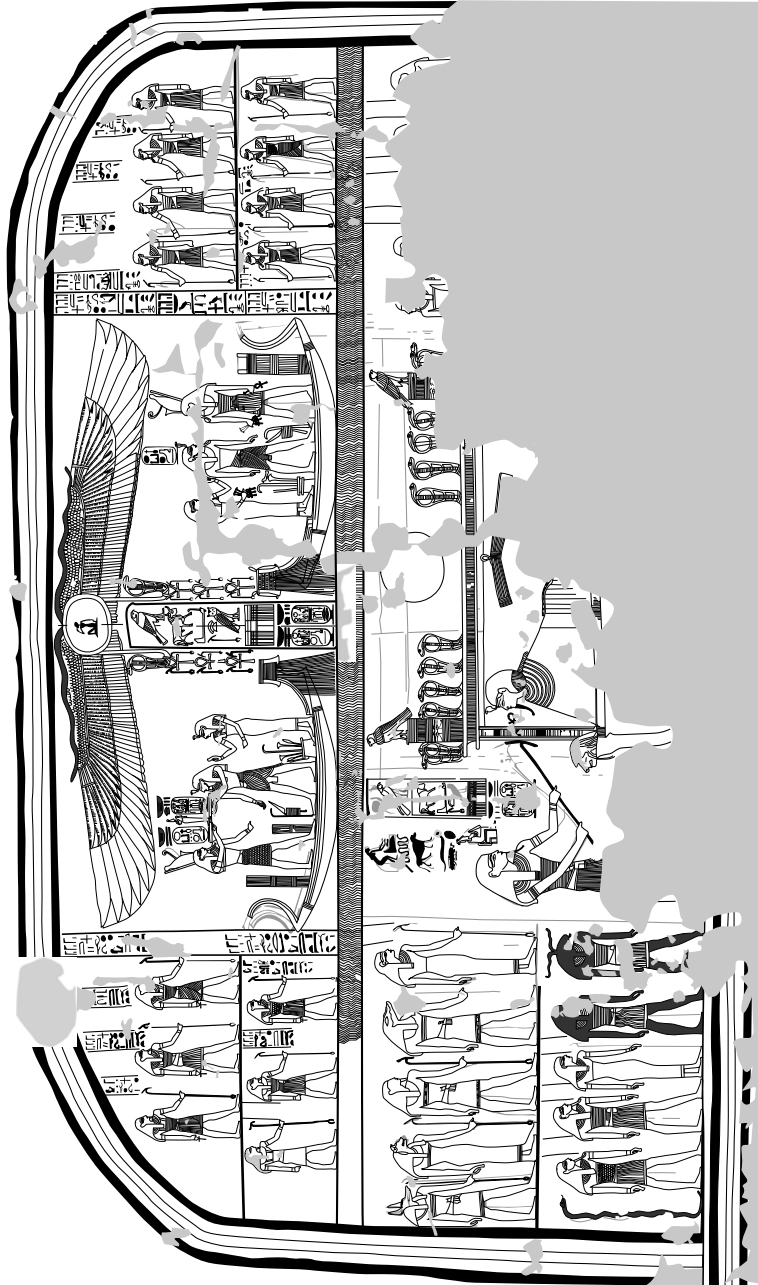


Plate 4: Awakening and Transit scenes from the tomb of Sheshonq III (after MONTET, *Tombeau de Chéchanq III*, pl. 30, image courtesy of the Mission Française des Fouilles de Tanis).

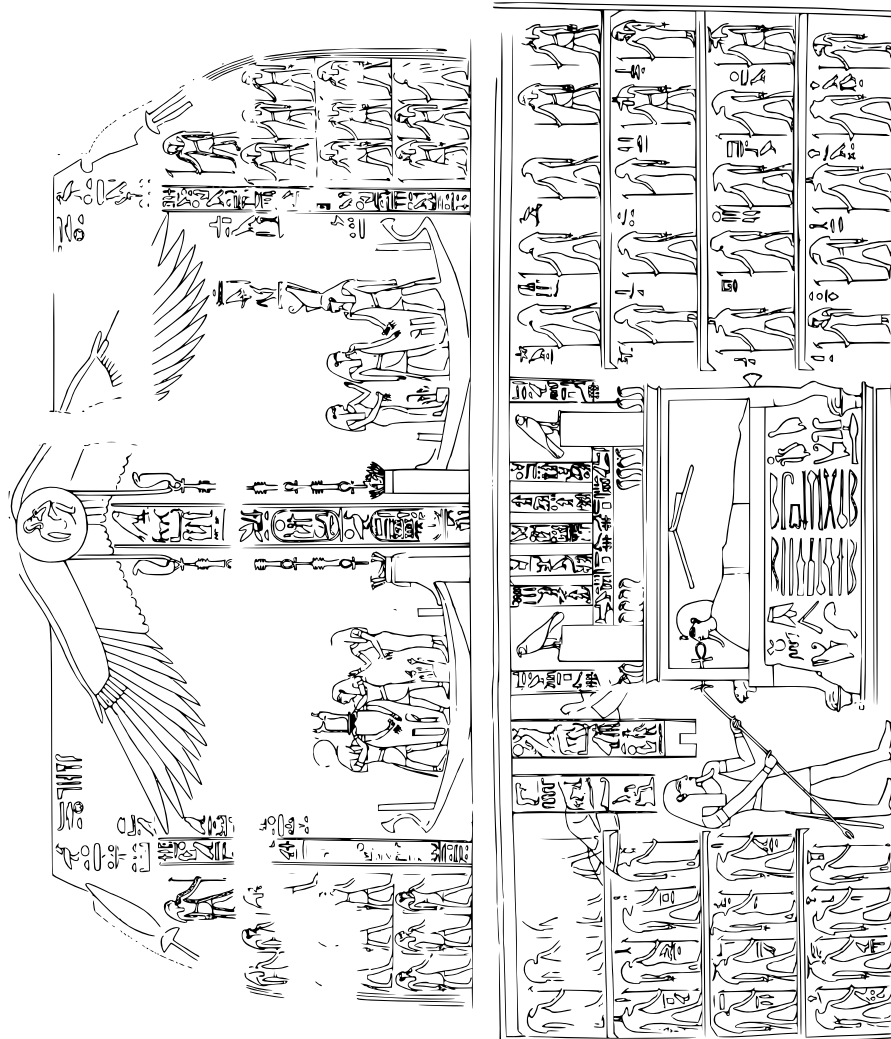
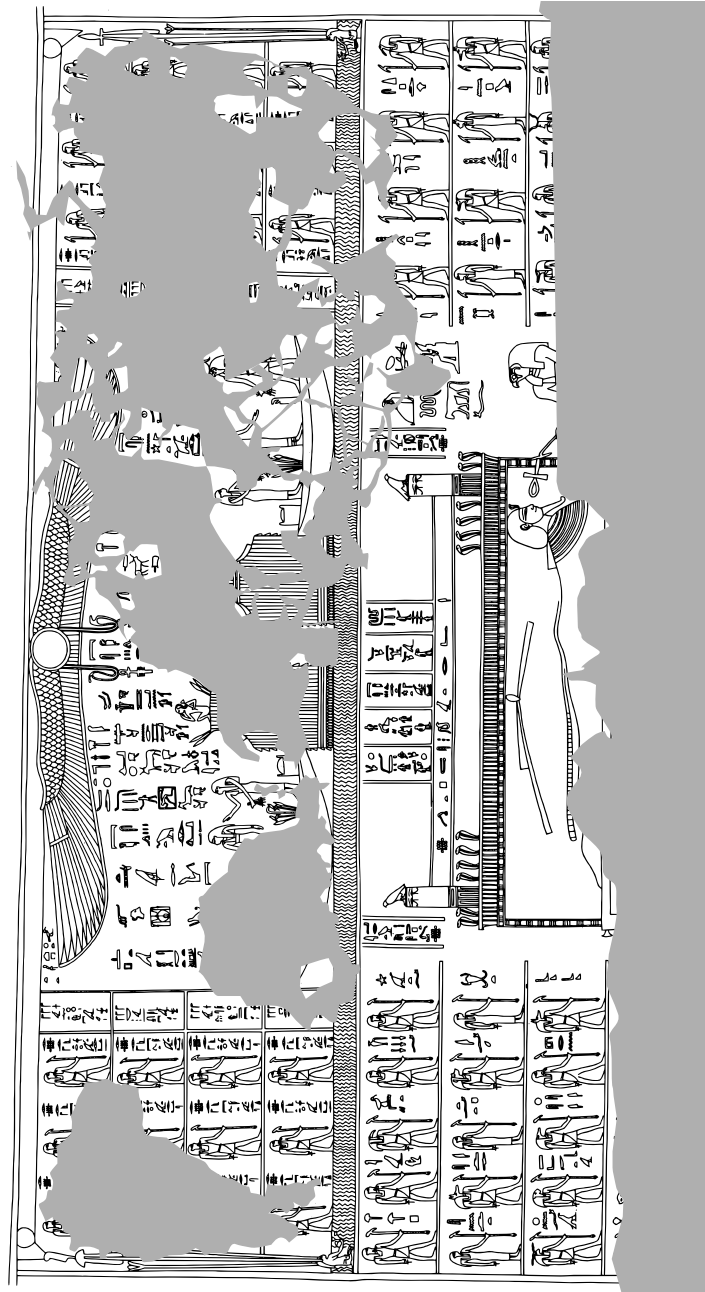


Plate 5: Awakening and Transit scenes from the tomb of Mutirdis, Chamber IV, reconstruction (after ASSMANN, *Mutirdis*, 91, fig. 41, reproduced by permission of the author). Destroyed areas in grey added by the present author, after *ibid.*, pl. 41.



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Summary

Among the many scenes and texts that occur for the first time in the Nineteenth Dynasty cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos is a representation of the awakening of Osiris by Horus, which appears directly beneath a vignette depicting the transit of the solar barques. The annotations to this bi-partite tableau appear in a mixture of standard, hieroglyphic Egyptian and cryptographic scripts. Similar groups of scenes and texts occur in the Twentieth Dynasty royal tombs of Ramesses VI (KV9) and Ramesses IX (KV6), the Twenty-Second Dynasty tomb of Sheshonq III at Tanis (NRT5), and the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty private tomb of Mutirdis at Thebes (TT410). In addition, significant, albeit partial parallels occur on the re-carved, Twenty-Second Dynasty sarcophagus of Psusennes and a Ptolemaic sarcophagus inscribed for a certain Khaf. This study offers a summary of the scenes' iconography together with the first synoptic edition of the relevant annotations, taking into account all currently published exemplars. Many of the cryptographic texts are translated here for the first time, while others receive updated translations and expanded analyses. The author also considers the meaning and context of the paired scenes in royal and private monuments, in order to demonstrate the status of the bi-partite tableau as a unified composition. This composition is identified as a concise representative of the cosmological genre referred to usually as the Books of the Underworld and Sky.